

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

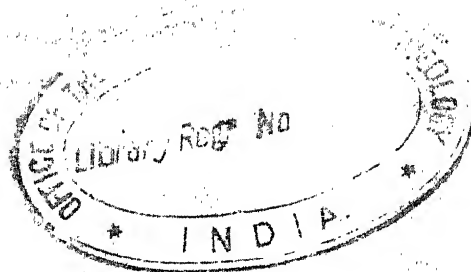
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JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1928.

VOLUME XXXI.

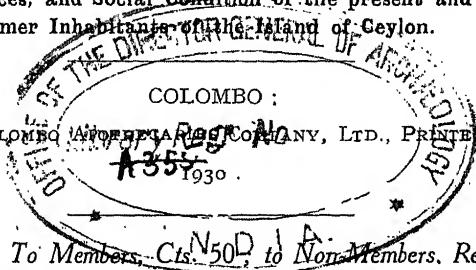
No. 81—Parts I, II, III, and IV.



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The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.



THE COLONBO ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, LTD., PRINTERS.

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ERRATUM.

C.A.S. Journal, Vol. XXX., No. 80, 1927, p. 439 :—

For “(M. *odi gengosfu*; lit. ‘having taken away an *odi*’)”
read “(M. *odi kadaifu*; lit. ‘having removed an *odi* by
stealth’).”



JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1928.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their report for the year 1928.

Meetings and Papers.

Five General Meetings and two Council Meetings were held during the year in accordance with a regular programme of meetings which was for the first time arranged by the Council. The Annual General Meeting was held on the 23rd March, when His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., Patron of the Society, presided. The Annual Report was read. A paper entitled "The Rise of the Dutch Power in Ceylon: an Introduction" was read by Dr. P.E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S. At a General Meeting held on the 22nd June, Mr. Edmund Reimers read a paper on "Feudalism in Ceylon." In July, a General Meeting was held, when Mr. A. M. Hocart delivered a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on "the Methods of Excavation." On September 26th the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva read a paper on "Social Organization in Ceylon in early times." In October Dr. Joseph Pearson delivered a lecture, illustrated with lantern slides, on "European Furniture in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries."

2
C.K.

Publications.

Journal, Vol. XXX, No. 80, 1927, was issued containing in addition to the proceedings of the meetings and notices of books, the following papers and notes, viz :—

- i. Sinhalese Vittipot (Books of Incidents) and Kadaimpot (Books of Division Boundaries), by the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva.
- ii. Some Rules and Precepts among Tamils for construction of Houses, Villages, Towns and Cities during the mediaeval age, by Mr. R. Chelvadurai-Proctor, Mudaliyar.
- iii. The Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon (Pt. I) by the late Mr. Donald Ferguson.
- iv. Place of Tamil in the Science of Language by the Rev. Father S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I.
- v. Excerpta Maldiviana by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. (Retired).
- vi. The Inscription at Fort Frederick, Trincomalee, by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.
- vii. Gajabahu I and Mahallaka Nāga—their relationship by Mr. S. Paranavitana.
- viii. Some Literary Undertakings of the late Simon Casie Chitty, Esq., C.C.S., M.R.A.S., by Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi.

Members.

The Society has now on its roll 377 members, of whom 370 are life members and 7 Honorary Members.

During the year the following 34 members were elected, viz : Mr. Bernard David Cooray-Bulatsinghala, Rev. Hector Vernon Ivan Seneviratna-Corea, Messrs. Jatis Chandra De, Douglas John Gerard Hennessy, Dalton Prematilaka Egoda Hewa Ubeysinha Jayawardena, Rev. Don Charles Peter Karunaratna, Messrs. H. Adris Mendis, Marshall Perera Edirisingha, Alphonsus Benedict Tissavarasingha, The Hon. Mr. M. J. Cary, Dr. Gino Scarpa, Messrs. W. Austin Fernando,

J. S. A. Fernando, D. S. Wijemanna, Julius Duke de Lanerolle, M.P.L.S. Fernando, B.A., J. C. Ratwatte Dissave, T. Sugatapala, Rev. W. Sri Wijayananda Thero, Rev. Pandit K. Sri Piyyaratana Thero, Messrs. C. L. Wickramasingha, C.C.S., C. Arumugam, Siriman Patrick Jayasingha, M. S. A. Hyadari, I.C.S., E.T. Dyson, C.C.S., M. T. Archibald, C.C.S., P. Saravanamuttu, C.C.S., Cyril E. de Pinto, C.C.S., C. W. Bickmore, C.C.S., K. Somasuntharam, C.C.S., S. Phillipson, C.C.S., R. Aluvihara, C.C.S., the Hon. Mr. L. Macrae and Mr. V. P. Redlich, C.C.S.

Life Members.

Mr. M. A. C. Mohammed, Mr. K. W. Atukorala, Muhandiram, Mr. C. H. Jolliffe, Mr. T. B. L. Moonamale, Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, Maha Mudaliyar, and Mr. W. H. Perera have become life members.

Resignation.

Dr. George Abeyesinha and Mr. H. T. Cartwright have resigned their membership.

Council.

Dr. P. E. Pieris was elected a Vice-President in place of the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, who resigned.

Under Rule 20 the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva retired by seniority and Dr. P. E. Pieris and Mr. Lionel de Fonseka by least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election, the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva were elected, and Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana and Dr. G. P. Malalasekara were elected to fill the other two vacancies on the Council.

Deaths.

The Council records with regret the deaths of the following :—Messrs. M. I. M. Ali, M. T. Archibald, C.C.S., C. A. Galpin and Charles Pieris.

Library.

The additions to the library including parts of periodicals numbered 108. The Society is indebted to the following, viz: Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland; Geological Society, London; the Indian Antiquary Pali Text Society, London; American Oriental Society; Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch; the Royal Empire Society; the Behar and Orissa Research Society; and Prof. W. Geiger.

For donations to the following, viz:—

The Archaeological Survey, India; the University of Madras; Government of Ceylon; the Director, Colombo Museum; the Maha Bodhi Society, Calcutta.

The Archaeological Work in 1928.

The Acting Archaeological Commissioner has responded to the request of the Council and favoured it with the following summary of the work done by his Department during the year under review:—

Summary of Archaeological Work.

Conservation:—We are now within measurable distance of completing the programme of conservation work at Polonnaruwa. The Priory has now been finished. The plaster work of the Haṭṭadāge which had to be postponed till the dry weather has also been completed. Work was started on the pavilion to the north of the lake as it is a unique specimen of secular architecture very well preserved. The only building to be dealt with in Anurādhapura was the brick-built image house west of the Eastern Dāgāba.

Excavation:—A larger gang of coolies than last year was employed for the excavations at Mantai; but the work had to be done under very trying conditions owing to the extreme heat and the want of water.

As nothing but small fragments of buildings were found below the surface we had to change our tactics and start trenching in order to get sections. A depth of 19 feet was

reached in the course of which minor changes in the pottery were noticed and no doubt more will appear after a careful examination of the materials. If the lower strata are as much ransacked as the upper ones another two years will have got out of the mound all it is likely to yield, namely a pottery and bead sequence. If on the other hand the lower strata are better preserved it is difficult to say how long it will take us.

The Epigraphical Assistant began excavations in the Anurādhapura Citadel in the area of the Temple of the Tooth. Only 30 coolies were available, however, so that progress was very slow and the floor of the building has not yet been reached. Glazed tiles of various colours were found.

Exploration:—An exploration circuit was undertaken in the region between Pottuvil and Yāla Game Sanctuary. The remains were mostly very scanty; yet even so there were interesting results. We found at last an undoubted case of a dāgāba with elongated dome. Three new reservations have been recommended in this region.

The Surveyor Draughtsman traced a portion of the old highway from Polonnaruva to Māgama, running past Buttala in the Uva Province. In this he was guided by the two inscribed league stones mentioned in last year's summary and by six more fragmentary stones of a similar nature, kindly brought to the notice of this Department by Mr. H. W. Codrington.

Publications:—The fourth part of the Ceylon Journal of Science, section G, appeared in 1928, completing the first volume. An index was added. The Archaeological Summary contains a section on ancient town planning and another on the ancient irrigation system of the Island. In addition, this part of the journal contains the following articles:—Epigraphical Summary, Notes on Previous Articles, The Indo-European Kinship System, and Duplication of Office in the Indian State.

The Manuscript of Vol. III of the Temple of the Tooth was completed but no decision has been arrived at about

printing it. The plans were not made any too early as the temple is now being rebuilt.

Epigraphy :—Dr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasingha published the first part of Volume III of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* and the Index to Vols. I and II. Vol. III, part 1, contains a chronological table of the Kings of Ceylon and an article on the Lankatilaka Guard Stone Inscription.

Vol. III, part 2, which is being edited by this Department, is still going through the press. Manuscript material for a further part of the *Epigraphia* has been sent to the printers.

Inscriptions at Nāgiri-kanda in the North-Central Province and at Gērenḍigala, Central Province, discovered by Dr. E. Muller (*Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, 1883) nearly 50 years ago and copied by the Archaeological Survey between 1890 and 1908, with their approximate dates recorded (*A. S. Annual Reports*, 1891, pp. 8 & 9; 1911-1912, p. 121), have been identified as records of Kumāradāsa (6th century) the Poet King, and of Kāsyappa III (8th century.) Some time was spent in studying the records on the Sigiriya gallery wall. These yielded some twenty verses on various subjects in the Sinhalese dialect of the eighth and ninth centuries written by the visitors to this rock fortress. Among the many visitors who had left their names scribbled on this wall was Laṅkāpura Daṇḍanātha, the general, sent by Parākramabāhu I, at the head of the Pandyan expedition.

Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists.

The Congress of Orientalists was held at Oxford in August last. In response to the invitation sent by the Secretary, your Council appointed the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and Dr. Andreas Nell to represent the Society at the Congress. Dr. Nell was unfortunately not able to go. Mr. Jayatilaka, therefore, represented the Society alone. He took part in the proceedings of the Congress and read at a meeting of the Indian Section, a paper on the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary now under preparation. The paper, it is hoped, will in due course be published in the Society's journal.

The Royal Batavian Society.

An invitation was received from the above Society to attend its 150th Anniversary Celebrations held in April last. Mr. Edmund Reimers, Government Archivist, was present at the meetings. Mr. Reimers read a report on his trip to Batavia and the proceedings of the Anniversary at a General Meeting held on the 28th of July, 1928.

The Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary.

The Editor-in-Chief has sent to the Council the following summary of the work done during the year 1928 :—

I have the honour to submit the following summary of the work that has been done in connection with the compilation of the Sinhalese Dictionary from January to December, 1928 :—

1. During this period 237 books of varying size and importance have been indexed by the office staff. The number of books returned indexed by outside scholars is 21. These figures, together, with those mentioned in my previous report, make up a total of 559, which must be considered satisfactory.

2. Of the 195 competitors who took part in the word collecting competition referred to in my last report, 16 were awarded prizes and certificates which were distributed by His Excellency the Governor at the Annual General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society (C.B.) on the 23rd March, 1928. The following received both prizes and certificates :

Piyadasa Ramachandra, D. L. de Alwis Gurusingha, G. H. Perera, P. B. Kehelgomuva, J. S. Kariyawasam. The undermentioned were awarded certificates :—D. F. R. Wijayasingha, D. S. Kaviratna, D. Dhammadhaja Bhikkhu, H. R. Gunaratna, V. P. A. Darlis, T. S. Dharma-bandhu, D. J. Randeni, L. B. P. Amarasuriya, H. Gunatilaka, D. D. Ranasingha, D. C. P. Karunaratna.

As a result of this competition over 4,000 words not found in existing dictionaries have accrued to the dictionary.

3. In the course of the year it has been found possible to initiate the next stage in our work, namely, the transferring of words so far collected from books and common speech to cards for the purpose of editorial treatment. This work was begun in September last and up to end of December 51,087 entries have been so transferred. The arrangement of cards in alphabetical order is also being carried on, and it is hoped that this process of sorting out will be sufficiently advanced so as to enable us to begin the actual editorial work in the course of next month.

4. Good progress has been made with the printing of the revised editions of *Dhampiyā Aṭuva Geṭapadaya* and *Saddharma Ratnāvaliya* to which reference was made in my last report. The first part of the latter work containing 160 pages has already been issued.

5. In August last I attended the 17th International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford. At a meeting of the Indian Section I read a paper on the compilation of the Sinhalese Dictionary giving details of the work that has already been done and appealing for the co-operation of the Orientalists in our undertaking. A copy of this address has already been forwarded to you. At the conclusion of my paper, the section passed two resolutions - one thanking the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for undertaking the compilation of an Etymological Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language and the Government of Ceylon for the financial support extended to it, and the other suggesting the desirability of appointing a Consultative Committee of comparative philologists in order to give us help and advice in regard to philological matters. These resolutions were confirmed at the final general meeting of the Congress. Before I left England in November last, steps were taken to form the Consultative Committee as suggested by the Congress. Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum, Dr. Wilhelm Geiger of Munich, Professor Jules Bloch of Paris, Dr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe and Professor R. J. Turner of the School of Oriental Studies, London, have already joined the Committee, while Dr. Barnett, Professor Turner and Dr. Wickremasinghe have consented to act as a London Committee.

6. During my stay in London, I availed myself of the opportunity for inspecting the Sinhalese manuscripts in the library of the British Museum, especially those belonging to the Nevill Collection. I came across a number of valuable books either not found or very scarce in Ceylon, among which may be mentioned the *Jātaka Aṭṭvā Gāṭa-padaya*, a work composed not later than the Polonnaruva period. I indexed a good portion of this book and made arrangements with a young Sinhalese student in London to continue the indexing of the remaining portion of this book and other manuscripts.

Finances.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 4,344/15 to the credit of the Society at the close of the year. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 18,403/20 and the expenditure was Rs. 18,419 21.

The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and the Chinese Records Translation Fund are also annexed.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT OF The Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) for the Year 1928.

PARTICULARS		Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.	PARTICULARS		Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
Balance from 1927 ..	..	4,360	16			Charges ..	..	1,657	25		
Govt. Grant (Sinhalese Dictionary)	..	15,000	00			Salaries ..	..	1,230	00		
Do Royal Asiatic Society ..	..	1,000	00			Books ..	..	265	98		
Entrance Fee ..	..	131	25			Sinhalese Dictionary ..	..	15,000	00	18,153	23
Life Membership Commutation ..	..	334	00			Sundries:					
Sale of Publications ..	..	35	76			Postage ..	..	131	43		
Sundries (Interest) ..	..	91	44			Petty Cash ..	..	131	25		
				20,952	61	Bank Charges ..	..	3	30	265	98
Annual Subscription, 1929 Rs. 21.00						Balance:					
1928 .. 1,354.50						R.A.S., C.B. (current a/c					
1927 .. 347.00						I.B.I. ..	..Rs. 2,687.44				
1926 .. 61.50						R.A.S. Library Fund					
1924-25 .. 26.75		1,810	75	1,810	75	(current a/c I.B.I.) ..	136.42	2,823	86		
						R.A.S. Fixed Deposit ..	..	1,000	00		
						Cash in hand					
						Cheques in hand since } paid into bank ..		422	75		
						Petty Cash ..	..	36	80		
						Postage ..	..	26	49	4,344	15
				22,763	36					22,763	36

Audited and found correct,
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,

8th March, 1929.

(Sgd.) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,
Honorary Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT OF THE Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund for the Year 1928.

PARTICULARS	Rs.		Cts.		Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.	
Balance from 1927					806	55		806	55	
					806	55		806	55	

Audited and found correct,
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.
8th March, 1929.

(Sgd.) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,
Honorary Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT OF THE Ceylon Chinese Translation Fund for the Year 1928.

PARTICULARS	Rs.		Cts.		Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.	
Balance : Fixed Deposit in Imperial Bank	1,248	00			1,248	00				
Current Account in Imperial Bank	723	79			767	47		2,015	47	
Interest on Fixed Deposit	43	68								
								2,015	47	

Audited and found correct,
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.
8th March, 1929.

(Sgd.) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,
Honorary Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 17, 1928.

Present:

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G.,
President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A., Vice-President.

The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
Prof. Robert Marrs, C.I.E.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,
Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 19th October, 1927, were read and confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:

Mr. Bernard David Corea, Rev. Hector Vernon
Ivan Seneveratna-Corea, De, Douglas John
Gerard Hennessy, Dalton Prematilaka Egodaheva Ubeyesingha Jayawardene, Rev. Don Charles Peter Karunaratna, Messrs. H. Adris Mendis, Marshall Perera Edirisingha, and Alphonsus Benedict Tisserasingha.

3. The draft Annual Report for the year 1927 was read and passed.

4. The nomination of office-bearers for the year 1928 was considered.

Mr. Collins stated that the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka intended leaving for Europe shortly and that he proposed resigning from the office of Vice-President. It was resolved that Dr. P. E. Pieris be nominated as Vice-President in his place.

Under Rule 20, the Hon. Mr. F. W. Perera and the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva retire by seniority, and Dr. P. E. Pieris and Mr. L. de Fonseka by least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election it was resolved that the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva be nominated for re-election, and that Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana and Dr. G. P. Malalasekara be nominated to fill the other two vacancies on the Council.

5. The programme of meetings for 1928 was considered. It was resolved that the programme as proposed by the Honorary Secretary be printed and circulated.

6. A letter from Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed regarding his arrears of subscription was read.

It was decided that he be made a life member on payment of Rs. 84, the amount of his arrears of which Rs. 50 would be regarded as composition fee as a life member.

7. The question of Delegates to be present at the Congress of Orientalists to be held at Oxford was considered.

It was resolved that the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and Dr. Andreas Nell be invited to represent the Society at the Congress.

8. A letter from the Secretary, Fifth All-India Oriental Conference, Lahore, inviting Delegates from the Society, was read.

It was decided that the matter be brought up at the next General Meeting of the Society.

9. The translations of Chinese References to Ceylon were laid on the table. It was decided that the translations be circulated to members of Council for favour of their remarks.

10. Dr. P. E. Pieris, seconded by Dr. Nell, moved that "the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, do place on record an expression of its thanks to the Archaeological Society and the Minister of Instruction at Lisboa for the action they have taken to preserve the Memorial of the Prince Dom Joao."

It was resolved that the Secretary be requested to convey the vote of thanks to the Minister of Instruction at Lisboa.

11. A letter from the Secretary, Royal Batavian Society, Java, inviting the presence of a representative of this Society at the 150th anniversary celebrations of that institution, was read.

It was decided to propose to Government to send Mr. Reimers to Java to represent the Society.

12. The date and business for the Annual General Meeting, was considered.

It was resolved that the meeting be held in or about the 3rd week of March, 1928, and that the business be as follows:—Annual Report, election of office-bearers, paper by Dr. P. E. Pieris entitled "the Rise of the Dutch Power in Ceylon; an Introduction" and the presentation of awards in the competition in connection with the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 23, 1928.

Present :

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.,
Patron, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., President.

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A. (Oxon.) Vice-President.

Mr. M. M. Anthonisz
Mr. K. W. Atukorala,
Muhandiram
Mr. W. Edwin Bastian
Mr. B. D. Cooray-Bulatsinghala
Mr. A. M. Caldera, B.A. (Lond.)
Mr. P. M. Aloysius Corea
Mr. J. C. De
Mr. J. D. Dharmasena
Mr. Herod Gunaratna,
Mudaliyar
Mr. H. R. Gunaratna
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,
Gate Mudaliyar
Mr. J. J. Gunawardene
Mr. L. L. Hunter, C.C.S.
Mr. C. H. Joliffe

Rev. D. C. P. Karunaratna
Mr. W. W. Karunaratna
Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A.,
Ph.D.
Mr. A. Mamujee

Mr. Sri Nissanka
Prof. S. A. Pakeman, M.A.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
The Hon. Mr. Edward
W. Perera.
Mr. G. F. Perera
Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S.,
Mr. H. T. Ramachandra
Dr. Paul Schwarz
Mr. C. Suppramaniam

F. A. Tissavarasingha
Mr. J. R. Toussaint, C.C.S.

Mr. W. D. C. Wagiswara
Mr. M. S. Waidyasuriya
Mr. D. D. Weerasingha,
Mudaliyar
Mr. C. Wickramaratna
Mr. C. A. Wijayasekara
Mr. Edmund P. Wijetunga

Visitors, 20 gentlemen and 6 ladies.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 28th November, 1927, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. L. L. Hunter moved the adoption of the report.⁽¹⁾ Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana seconded. The motion was carried unanimously.

3. Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha proposed the election of the following office-bearers for the year 1928:—

Vice-President, Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S.

Members of Council:

Re-elected: the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva.

⁽¹⁾ Vide pp. 287-299 of the J. R. A. S., C. B. Vol. XXX, for Annual Report for year 1927.

Elected: Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, Ph. D. Mr. H. T. Ramachandra seconded—Carried.

4. The next business was the award of prizes and certificates to the winners in the Word Collection Competition in connection with the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary.

Before handing the awards His Excellency called upon Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka to give the details of the competition.

Mr. Jayatilaka said "It was found that it was of very great importance in connection with the Sinhalese Dictionary that words not now in use should be collected, including words used in connection with arts, traditions, ceremonies—words that are not found in books but are of value from the historical and etymological aspects. Last year the Managing Committee sanctioned the Word Collecting Competition. The announcement was made in the newspapers and the response was very satisfactory. Three hundred persons actually entered the competition. Of these, 195 sent in their collections before the due date namely, 31st December, when the competition closed.

Almost all parts of the country were represented in this collection and almost every walk of life, the largest number represented being the teaching profession. Sixty-four out of one hundred and ninety-five were teachers. There were 44 Buddhist Bhikkus and three or four Christian Ministers, a Roman Catholic Priest and a lawyer. The collections received are exceedingly valuable. It is difficult to say exactly the nett output; but I am perfectly sure that not less than 3,000 words will be added to the Dictionary—words not found in any Dictionary or any book at the present time. Besides the valuable contributions by the winners of the certificates there will be other words ultimately added to the Dictionary. On behalf of the Society and the editorial staff, I wish to express my very sincere thanks to those who co-operated with us in this very useful work." (Applause).

Prizes and certificates: their winners are as follows:—

1. First Prize.—Rs. 100 and certificate:—Piyadasa Ramachandra, Retired Schoolmaster, Eheliyagoda.
2. Second Prize.—Rs. 60 and certificate:—D. L. de Alwis Gurusingha, Retired Schoolmaster, Kaikawala, Matale.
3. Third Prize.—Rs. 50 and certificate:—G. H. Perera, Schoolmaster, Boralessamuva.
- 4a. Fourth Prize.—Rs. 40 and certificate:—P. B. Kehelgomuwe, Schoolmaster, Kadadora, Maswela, Pussellawa.
- 4b. Fourth Prize.—Rs. 40 and certificate:—J. S. Kariyawasam, Schoolmaster, Uhana, Kalmunai.

The following are entitled to certificates only:—

5. (Rev.) D. F. R. Wijayasinha, The Parsonage, Gampola.
6. D. S. Kaviratna, 60, Pussellawa Road, Gampola.
7. D. Dhammadhaja Bhikku, Maligatenna, Kadugannawa.
8. H. R. Gunaratna, Tholangomuwa, Nelundeniya.
9. V. P. A. Darlis, Schoolmaster, Bodagama, Tanamalvila, Wellawaya.
10. T. S. Dharmabandhu, Star Press, Panadura.
11. D. J. Randeni, Schoolmaster, Hunumulla, Veyangoda.

12. L. B. P. Amarasuriya, Inspector of Schools, Kurunegala.
13. H. Gunatilaka, Inspector of Schools, Hettimulla, Kegalla.
14. D. D. Ranasinha, Schoolmaster, Yapahu, Maho.
15. (Rev.) D. C. P. Karunaratna, Dikwella.

5. Dr. Paul E. Pieris next read a paper on the "Rise of the Dutch Power in Ceylon: an Introduction." A booklet containing a list of the 214 documents referred to in the paper was distributed amongst those present.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 22, 1928.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G.
President in the Chair.

Mr. K. W. Y. Atukorala,
Muhandiram
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva
Mr. Herod Gunaratna,
Mudaliyar
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate
Mudaliyar
The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka,
M.A.
Mr. W. W. Karunaratna

Mr. A. E. Keuneman
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar
Mr. W. A. Samarasingha,
Atapattu Mudaliyar
Mr. C. Wickramaratna

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Honorary Secretary.

Visitors : 2 ladies and 5 gentlemen.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on the 23rd March, 1928, were read and confirmed.
2. Mr. Edmund Reimers read the following paper entitled "Feudalism in Ceylon":—

Feudalism in Ceylon.

Ceylon's geographical position as compared with Britain, *viz.* their proximity to the mainlands of India and Europe, and their history of invasion from the very dawn of civilization almost in the respective continents, are significant analogies which in the absence of recorded fact may suggest similar results. In Britain we have the records of the Norman settlement of the land and very little more to help us to investigate pre-Norman conditions. In Ceylon, however, where feudalism was a recognised fact almost within living memory, and where the skeleton of the system is so jealously preserved even at the present day, we possess the material necessary to piece together the elaborate feudal system of pre-European times and to trace its continuity through Portuguese and Dutch sources to British times. The legendary invasion of Ceylon of the Ramayana and the comparatively recent invasion of Vijaya in B.C. 543 assume a true historical significance when judged by the

results of invasions in general and the later Portuguese and Dutch invasions. The Rakshasas and the Yakshas and Nagas are real people whose faces had deliberately been blackened by the invader who also swept away in his first blind fury the customary laws and social institutions of the conquered. But when the fury of the invader had spent itself and the dust of invasion had settled down, there arose a state of things which incorporated the more useful features of the last regime. The free institutions, however, of the conquered disappeared. The freeholder was reduced to a subordinate position, and his lands were given away to the foreigner who allowed him to continue to cultivate them by submitting to a system of dues and servitudes, a similar form of obligation but in a more obnoxious form to that which subsisted between the foreigner himself and his liege lord. Thus, in course of time, obligation was linked with the possession of land; various tenures were created; and a highly technical phraseology was invented to define the mutual rights of lord and tenant. There is nothing¹, unfortunately, in the ancient chronicles of Ceylon which refers to the system of land settlement in former times if we may except the Lekam-mitiya or the Sinhalese registers of villages and departments. The matter was probably taken for granted, or was not considered of sufficient importance to be recorded² together with the battles of kings and the jealousies of ministers, and it is chiefly due to the self-interest of the Portuguese and the Dutch, in a greater measure to the Dutch, that we now possess the necessary material for reconstructing the feudal system of Ceylon. There are, however, I should like to point out, numerical names³ of districts and divisions in Ceylon situated sufficiently far away from each other to suggest a general system for the three ancient divisions of the Island, which appear to

1. Pandukabhaya (B.C. 437) fixed the boundaries of the villages in all parts of Lanka.

2. Lithic records inscribed by royal order contain glimpses of land tenure, cf., the tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintale (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, p. 75 *et seq.*)

3. Cf. Harasiyapattu, Hewaheta, Hewawissa, Tunpanaha, Dolosdas Corle, &c.

have had an original personal signification, similar to the military "hundreds" of Saxon England.

Although King Philip I of Portugal⁴ had succeeded to the kingdom of Kotte in 1597, it was not till several years later that the Portuguese set about to restore their tottering finances in Ceylon by incorporating the territory bequeathed to them by Don João Dharmapāla (1550-1597) in their Tombo, so called, *viz.* a register of village holdings, and the Foral or a register of village quit-rents. The registers were modelled on the ancient Lekam-mitiya, and the "commissioners" employed by the Portuguese for the survey were all Sinhalese, who, it may be supposed, were all thoroughly conversant with local conditions. The commissioners who conducted the survey for the Tombo in 1608 were Don Jeronimo, Basnayakarāla and Maha Mohottiyar, Don Jeronimo Samaradiwākara, Basnayaka Mohottiyar, Hannas Rāla, Don Francisco Velgama, Interpreter, and the celebrated Don Jeronimo Alagiyawanna Mukaweti. The outcome of their labours was the Portuguese Tombo, the system of settlement being practically the same as that adopted by the Dutch in their "Thombos" through the agency of the "Appuhamy Commissioners" as they were called, the only difference being that the Dutch with their natural perspicacity went more thoroughly into the vested rights of the Lord of the Land, the Company in their case.

Before proceeding to the subject-matter of my paper, *viz.*, a few extracts from the Portuguese and Dutch Thombos on which my sketch is based, I should like to trace the growth of the feudal idea in England in Norman and pre-Norman times with relation to early conditions in Ceylon and the settlement of the land generally. In a country subject to frequent invasion, the most important service, it may be imagined, was the military service. It would appear, however, originally to have been more a duty to the state than an incident of tenure. The relations were more those between lord and man than between lord and tenant, although every freeholder

4. King Philip I of Portugal and II of Spain (1580-1598).

was liable to the *trinodia necessitas* of rendering military service and repairing bridges and fortresses. In course of time, however, the early relations between lord and man tended more and more to be connected with the holding of land, but, whether the land was free or burdened, every free landowner was subject to the military service. A system of settlement other than the original allodial settlement also came into use such as grants by book or charter, and with the more general conception of tenure, allodial land seemed to have meant only land which would descend to the heir. Gradually, with the grants of large districts to lords and religious corporations and the general centralization of authority, the duties of the possessors of land became more and more duties attaching to the possession of land, owned to and capable of being enforced by the king or great man of the district.

At the Conquest, all land became *terra regis* and was held of the king.⁵ The mutual duties of lord and tenant also required more precise definition and led to the introduction of a technical phraseology. In short the old allodial system of holding land was changed into a feudal tenure—the beneficial interest in land which though capable of descending to the heirs of the tenant *ad infinitum* stopped short of absolute ownership. The Anglo-Saxon custom that every 5 hides of land should furnish a soldier was transformed into a tenure of so much land, by the duty or service of providing a soldier, and the land held before by religious bodies, which was always free from all temporal service except the *trinodia necessitas*, was now said to be held by the tenure of *frankalmoign* (free alms). The king as supreme owner of the land also exercised the rights of reliefs and heriots, and, chiefly, escheat, or the right of reversion of the estate of the tenant on the failure of heirs or on abolition of service, etc. Finally, in the large districts of land held by persons or corporations, the old freeholds developed into service tenures, the freeholders became tenants, and their rights of pasturage, etc., over unoccupied land came to be regarded

5. Some scholars hold the view that with the exception of the royal domain the rest of the country was folk-land.

as rights over land the ownership of which was vested in the king. The lord also retained his domain which was cultivated by the forced labour of the non-free inhabitants who were "assigned to the land."

The Portuguese Thombos of Ceylon, were all compiled between 1608 and 1618 by Antão Vaz Freire, the Vedor or Comptroller of the Royal Exchequer, and his Secretary, Paulo Carvalho, an officer of great experience of the East, with the help of the commissioners already mentioned. The territory bequeathed to the Portuguese by King Don João Dharmapala, which included 12,500 villages, or 21,873 according to Ribeiro, was incorporated in the Thombo according to the system in the Sinhalese registers, with the difference, however, that the Portuguese, as masters, appropriated the ancient *gabadagam* or royal villages for the benefit of the King's treasury, and distributed the *vihara* or *dewalagam* and other villages among the Casados and Soldados of the Conquest, and the Mudaliyars, Arachchies, and Lascarins in their service as "accommodessan" or maintenance lands. A large number of the villages were also appropriated by high Portuguese officials, and the Church demanded and received her share. The new holder of the village derived the dues of the "lordship" according to ancient custom, the internal economy of the village remaining unchanged. The Foral, or a companion register, showed the quit-rents payable to the Sovereign and also contained particulars regarding the revenue departments of the Sinhalese and other sources of revenue derived by the State. The Thombo in short was a register of village lords' holdings showing the various tenures in each village, and the Foral, a register of overlord's dues. The Portuguese, and the Dutch after them, were not slow in appreciating the ready made machinery available to them for the peaceful settlement of the land according to ancient custom, and for the recovery of the dues paid by custom to the lord of the land. Of the 4 volumes of Thombos compiled of the villages in Portuguese territory, only 2, the 2nd and the 3rd, are extant at the Archives at Lisbon. Two Forals are extant dated 1614 and 1618, and a Foral of the Kingdom of Jaffanapatnam dated 1645.

The following are specimens of entries from the Portuguese Thombo and Foral.

Beligal Corla has 4 pattus :—

1. Quirauloi patu
2. Camdupita patu
3. Otata patu
4. Vataragamdoloay patu

and an amunam of paddy is worth in this Corlla 2 larins, and the King's pepper is worth 8 fanama, and the rest of the pepper is worth 8 fanams.

Villages of the 1st pattu.

The village MAHENA, which was of the pagoda of Ceitauaqua, at present possessed by JERONIMO TAUEIRA DA CUNHA cazado and dweller in the city of Colombo.

It contains sowing extent 12 amunams of paddy and each one yields 10 fold on the average of the last 3 years :

- 1 amunam of muteto
- 4 amunams are possessed by 4 mayorals
- 1 amunam and 1 pela is possessed by one gamea of the Corlla
- 2½ amunams are possessed by 5 service coolies (cules de servicio)
- ½ amunam possessed by 1 dhoby
- ½ amunam possessed by 1 mayoral pacha
- 1 pela possessed by one tom-tom beater
- 1 amunam of anda, which is of half, and the (remaining) amunam is not sown because it is in jungle through lack of workers.

and an arecanut grove of muteto of the lordship from which they collect each year 5 amunams of areca which are worth 30 larins at the rate of 6 larins an amunam at the current price of the corlla ; and 4 gardens which the said mayorals possess in which there are arecanut groves from which the said mayorals collect each year 1½ amunams of areca which are worth 9 larins ; and there are 8 pepper trees from which they collect each year 15 measures of dry pepper worth 12½ larins ; and the said mayorals pay to the lordship each year 4 larins as pandru and they pay further to the vidana of the said village each year 1 larin ; and one garden which

the said gamea of the corlla possesses in which there are 10 coconut trees. They give as fruit 150 coconuts which are worth 15 fanams; and there are some arecanut trees with 5 pepper trees from which he collects each year 6 measures of dry pepper worth 1 larin at the rate of 6 measures the larin; and another garden which the said gamea of the corlla possesses in which there are 15 new coconut trees; and there is an arecanut grove from which he collects each year 2 amunams of arecanuts worth 12 larins; and there are pepper trees from which he collects each year 6 measures of pepper worth one larin; and the said gamea of the corlla pays to the King each year 2 larins 5 fanams as decum, and 3 pingos which are worth 1 larin 4 fanams; he further pays to the vidana of the corlla each year 1 larin and $1\frac{1}{2}$ pingos which are worth 12 fanams; and 5 gardens which the said service coolies possess in which there are 15 coconut trees; and there are pepper trees from which they collect each year 3 measures of dry pepper worth $1\frac{1}{2}$ larins; and 2 gardens which the aforesaid dhoby and another possess in which there are 3 coconut trees; and 1 garden which the said mayoral pacha possesses in which there is 1 coconut tree; and 1 garden which the said tom-tom beater possesses in which there are 2 coconut trees; and the said tom-tom beater pays to the lordship each year 3 covados of cloth worth $\frac{1}{2}$ larin; and all the dwellers of the village pay to the lordship each year 4 amunams of arecanuts for 4 quachchas of cloth, from which the said lordship gets 16 larins; and the said dwellers pay to the lordship each year 12 pingos worth 2 larins 8 fanams; and the village yields on account of vegetables to the lordship each year on account of the chenas 3 amunams of paddy worth 6 larins; and they declare that there is no other matter in the said village and it adjoins the village Ambepussa; and in accordance with this tombo this village yields to the said lordship each year 90 larins, 16 fanams.

The village.

DELGAMOA which is possessed by the said Jeronimo Taueira da Cunha, cazado.

It contains sowing extent 4 amunams and 1 pela of paddy, and each yields 10—fold on the average of the last 3 years

$1\frac{1}{2}$ amunams is possessed by 2 mayorals and
 $1\frac{1}{2}$ amunams is possessed by 4 service coolies and
 1 amunam and 1 pela is possessed by a gamea of the corla
 and 1 garden of moteto in which there are 20 coconut trees.
 They yield as fruit 300 coconuts worth $1\frac{1}{2}$ larins, and there is
 an arecanut grove from which the said lordship collects each
 year 5 amunams of areca worth 30 larins; and 2 gardens
 which the said mayorals possess in which there are 20 coconut
 trees. They yield as fruit 300 coconuts worth $1\frac{1}{2}$ larins; and
 there are arecanut groves from which they collect each year
 1 amunam of areca worth 6 larins; and there are pepper trees
 from which they collect each year 12 measure of pepper worth
 2 larins; and the said dwellers pay to the lordship each year
 2 larins as decum; and they pay further to the Vidana of the
 said village each year $\frac{1}{2}$ larin; and 4 gardens which the said
 service coolies possess in which there are 20 coconut trees.
 They yield as fruit 300 coconuts worth $1\frac{1}{2}$ larins; and one garden
 which the said gamea of the corla possesses in which there
 are 10 coconut trees. They yield as fruit 150 coconuts worth
 15 fanams; and there is an arecanut grove from which he
 collects each year 1 amunam of areca worth 6 larins; and there
 are pepper trees from which he collects each year 6 measures
 of pepper worth 1 larin; and the said gamea of the corla
 pays to the King each year 1 larin as deccum and 3 pingos
 which are worth 1 larin 4 fanams; and he pays further to
 the vidana of the corla each year $\frac{1}{2}$ larin and $1\frac{1}{2}$ pingos
 which are worth 12 fanams; and the dwellers of this village
 give to the lordship each year 2 amunams of areca for 2
 cachas from which the said lordship gets 8 larins; and further
 the said dwellers pay to the lordship each year 6 pingos worth
 1 larin 4 fanams; and it yields on account of vegetables to the
 lordship each year $\frac{1}{2}$ amunam worth 1 larin; and they declare
 that there is no other matter in the said village and it adjoins
 the village Burunaua; and in accordance with this tombo
 this village yields to the said lordship each year 40 larins 18
 fanams.

The village ILIPAMGAMUA which is possessed by the
 said Jeronimo Taueira da Cunha cazado.

It contains sowing extent 12 amunams paddy and each yields 10—fold on the average of the last 3 years.

1 amunam of muteto

1 amunam 3 pelas is possessed by one gamea of the corla

2 amunams 1 pela is possessed by 2 mayorals

1 ainunam 3 pelas is possessed by 3 service coolies

3 pelas is possessed by one mayoral pachia

2 pelas is possessed by one native lascorin

3 pelas is possessed by one dhoby

2 ainunams anda which is of half and these 3 pelas outo; and an areca grove of the muteto which yields each year to the lordship 1 amunam of areca worth 6 larins; and one garden which is possessed by the said gamea of the corla in which there are 12 coconut trees. They give as fruit (1) 80 coconuts worth 18 fanams; and an areca grove from which he collects each year $\frac{1}{2}$ amunam of areca worth 3 larins; and there are pepper trees from which he collects each year 3 measures of dry pepper worth $\frac{1}{2}$ larin; and the said gamea pays to the King each year 1 larin decum and 3 pingos worth 1 larin 4 fanams; and he pays further to the vidana of the corla each year $\frac{1}{2}$ larin and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pingos worth 12 fanams.

The corresponding entries in the Foral are as follows:—

The village Mahena, fol. 3, Vol. 2, of the Tombo, with the villages Delgamua, Emanellolua, Emendagora (all 4 villages probably constituting an ancient fiscal unit), pay 14 xerafims of foro and 3 xerafims of dekkum, together with 2 muskets and a lance of the obligation. The village Ambeapussa, fol. dittó, Vol. ditto, pays 8 xerafims of foro and 2 muskets of the obligation, etc., etc.

The "obligation" was assessed at a musket for a revenue of 50 pardaos, a musket, a bow and arrows from 50 pardaos to 100, etc.

The following extracts from Ribeiro's *Fatal History* of the Island of Ceylon* give an account of local conditions at the time and now read in the light of the official Portuguese record, the Thombo and Foral, Robert Knox's observations, and, lastly, the Dutch Thombos, are a striking commentary on the author's veracity in general.

*Ribeiro's *History of Ceylon*, translated by P. E. Pieris

"We have stated that all the territory from Chilao as far as the Grevayas, a distance of 52 leagues of coast, and inland up to the frontiers of Candia and Uva, was bequeathed by the Emperor to His Majesty. This include 21,873 villages (12,500 according to the Thombo) over which our Captain Generals exercised the same authority as the Emperor with the title of King of Malvana, which was allowed them by His Majesty for the maintenance of the respect and authority of the office among the Chingalas.

From all these territories not a coin of tribute or taxes was obtained, because from the earliest times the land was all partitioned among the various ranks and classes of the State. For instance, in the case of men of war,—soldiers, captains and the higher officers—these had to come with their own arms as necessity arose, and were bound to bring from their homes food for fifteen days, and when this was finished they had fifteen days rest. Of this kind of men at arms we had in our dominions 50,000, and the number could be neither increased nor diminished, because they all held lands which they enjoyed under this condition of service; and it was the same with the nobility and the service-holders among whom the villages were divided. Each one had for his maintenance a piece of muddy land which he sowed, and a large tract of fruit trees from which he obtained a considerable profit, as well as a garden where he had his house. To this portion they give the name of *paravenia*, and all the inhabitants, whether noble or plebeian, had an occupation, each serving in his own way the King or the Lord of the village. In this fashion the soldiers, nobles, service-holders and the various grades and classes, of which there are many, have each their services to render, and they are free to enjoy their *paravenias*; nor is there ever lacking a person to occupy them subject to the same conditions as those on which they used to be held. For instance, if a soldier should die in war or otherwise, his son if he have one, or some other member of the same family will enter into possession of the *paravenias*, and although he is not a soldier, he becomes one now; and the same is the case with the other services; and from the number of *paravenias* they know

how many men there are of each rank and grade ; and here we should note that the *paravenia* which belonged to a soldier cannot pass to a service-holder, and that of a worker in iron always belongs to a worker in iron, and everything else is subject to the same rule. By the manner in which all the lands were divided, taking the case of those held on military tenure alone, the men were always ready with their arms on every occasion and the King was not put to the expense of a single real upon them : though for a King to maintain a very small army, a vast treasure would not be sufficient even for a few years. When the King waged war he used sometimes to promise a sum of money to the first person who reached some post of the enemy which he named, or else cut off a head ; and this promise he fulfilled in its entirety on the spot.

To avoid confusion we now proceed to explain the various classes of persons and the duties of each. The villages consist (first) of *Mayorals*, who are the same as citizens among us ; these are bound to supply three full meals a day to any man of war who comes to their village for the period of his stay there, and similarly to the lord of the village whenever he is in residence. This duty the *Mayorals*, who have the village undertake in turns thus dividing the expenditure among all. They have also to buy for the lord, at their own expense, everything which is to be found in their district such as chickens, hens, butter, kids, cows and hogs. In all these villages there are *culles* for carrying burdens and they perform the same work as men who are paid, as this is the tenure on which they hold their *paravenias*, and such service is not in any way considered to degrade them ; for where a man is of an honourable caste, he loses nothing, and where he is of a low caste, as many are, he always remains of the caste he is. They carry to the Lords of the village what they *Mayorals* buy and as often as they are summoned to this work, or to some similar occupation, they have to go. The workers in iron (*Achaari*) are obliged to serve in the workshops of the King for fifteen days, during which they have to supply their own provisions just as the soldiers do ; and when this period expires they have a similar

period of rest, and for this work of theirs the King does not pay them a single *real*. Where there are various qualified persons in one house, such as sons and relations, none of them are liable to render service but only the head of the household, as it is he who has the enjoyment of the *paravenia*. They are also obliged to make free of charge the agricultural implements for all the inhabitants of the village who have only to supply the material for the same ; besides these there are other workers in iron (*Yamanoo*) and these are they who extract the metal from a certain kind of stone, and live in separate villages which belong to the King ; they render him each a fixed quantity, and whatever they extract in excess of that quantity they are at liberty to sell. The workers in precious stones the jewellers (*tarahallo* or *badaalo*,) carpenters (*wadocwo*,) turners (*liyana wadoowo*,) gun makers, and lance makers are all obliged to render service in the same fashion as these on behalf of the king.

These which follow are the lowest castes ; the tom-tom beaters (*berawaaayo*) go in war to beat their drums and they come back with their own company. The wood cutters (*porowakareyo*) live in separate villages which also belong to the king ; they cut the trees which they are commanded to, and they have to convey the stores and baggage of the army ; and of this work they are so proud that in a defeat they would lose their lives before their stores. They are the workers in clay (*badahalayo*) and the washers (*radauw*), the latter of whom wash the clothes, and the former supply pottery to all in the village free of charge. The jagreiros (*hakuro*) make a kind of sugar from the liquor which they draw from some trees, and of this they give a fixed quantity to the lords of the villages. The shoemakers (*hanaali*), *pachas* (*paduwas*), and barbers (*embetteyo*) are all very low in caste, and they also have similar duties, each according to his grade. The *cornancas* are those who tame and look after the elephants ; they live in separate villages the same as the *pachas*, the villages of both of whom belong to the King ; and it is the same with the villages in which live the *chalias* (*halee*), the people who collect cinnamon ; each of these has to render the number of *bahars* at which his *paravenia*

is assessed, for all of them are not subject to the same amount of duty, some paying more and some less. They carry at their waists a small knife with which they strip the bark of the trees, as they enjoy the privilege of not being subject to any other kind of duty; they will not perform any service except what they are subject to, even if they are to be condemned to the fire, for they say that this would establish a precedent. The amount of cinnamon which they procured each year for the King was 3,200 *bahars*, each *bahar* being 13 *arrobas* and 7 pounds of our weight, making a total of 10,575 *quintals* (a *quintal* equals 128 pounds).

The Emperors, even if the amount collected in any one year could not be all sold to the ships of Persia, Arabia, Meca, Malavar, China and Bengala, which came for that commodity, by their being fewer one year than in another, would not reduce the price, which was always the same; whatever was left unsold was ordered to be destroyed by fire, so that the *chalias* might not acquire the habit of bringing less than they were bound to. Accordingly this was the chief source of revenues of the Emperor, and for this article they used to bring him all the wealth which the Orient possessed.

They do not attach much value to their gems, and only twenty-five *paravenias* of those whose duty it is to procure them are found in Sofregao. These serve fifteen days in the year, and they have a headman who is known as the *Vidana Das Agras* (Sinh. අක්කර gem land). The Emperor when the time drew near used to fix the number and quality of gems they had to procure, and these he would present the Kings, his relatives and friends on the coast of India. In the same fashion they continued to procure gems on His Majesty's account, subject to the order that they brought all the stones of one *pardao* and upwards in value; and so long as His Majesty was Lord of Ceilao there were not wanting Portuguese anxious to be the *Vidana Das Ag̃ras*, although the position was not considered one of much authority among our people.

The villages in which the wood cutters, the *chalias*, *pachas*, *cornax* and the other people who work in iron reside,

the villages of Butalegama (Bulatgama), and a hundred others in the various provinces were all possessed on behalf of His Majesty; in all there were 400 which had always been the property of the Emperor. These had their *vidanas* to collect the fruits and hand over the proceeds to the factor who in turn rendered an account to the secretary of his department and obtained a receipt. The Captain General had twenty of the best villages allowed to him for his expenses. The Captain Major of the camp, the Superintendent of the Treasury, the Captains of Culambo, Negumbo, and Calituro, the Sargeant Major, the Dissavas, the Bandigarrala (*Que e Capitao de Guarda*: Bocarro), the Captain of the General's Guard, the Factor, the Judge, the Chief of the Customs, a large number of the religious orders, down to the Captains of Infantry, had each two villages. These were all annexed to the same offices; all the others were divided among the inhabitants in accordance with the various deeds of merit which their ancestors had performed, or as they had obtained them as dower by marriage; all of them were granted for three lives, and they could increase them by their services; and thus all had sufficient income on which to live in comfort.

The natives in addition to these dues which we have mentioned and which they owed only to the King, had to render others to the lords of the villages, and from these neither the soldier nor any other person was exempt, in respect of the *paravenia* which each held. The chief kind consisted of areca, which is highly valued in the whole of India, and the amount due from each is entered in the Tombo, and this may be two, three or four *amanoes* each year, the quantity being a fixed one. There were other payments besides, such as of pepper, rice, etc; thus no one escaped payment of what was due from him. In each village there is one *paravenia*, which is always the largest and is situated in the best position. This is called the *motteto* and on it is constructed a handsome house where the lord of the village resides whenever he is in the village; everything which the *motteto* produces belongs to him. It is the duty of the *mayorals* to plow, sow and reap the field of the *motteto*; they have also to collect the areca, pepper and other fruits

without payment, and the *culles* convey it to the lord's house in the city without any expense to him; and thus whoever has the village knows how much he has of each kind yearly. All the span belongs to the lord and he alone has the right to collect it within the village limits."

The earliest village settlement effected by the Dutch took place in 1645, shortly after the treaty⁶ made with the Portuguese delimiting their respective territories in the western and southern districts of the Island. According to this treaty the Dutch retained the Negombo district up to a point half way between Negombo and Colombo, and the district extending from the Bentota River to the Walawe River including a portion of the Walallāwiti Korale, certain villages of the Pasdun Korale, the Galle Korale, Beligam Korale, Morawak Korale, and Dolosdas Korale. Five years later, *viz.* in 1650, we learn from the memorandum of Instructions⁷ left by the retiring Dutch Governor, Joan Maatsuyker (1646-1658,) to his successor, Jacob van Kittensteyn (1650-1653,) that the cinnamon and elephant departments in the Southern districts had been developed according to the system in vogue during the times of the Sinhalese kings, and that the people who were subject to perform the services of collecting and transporting cinnamon and capturing and training elephants were settled on their holdings. The lascarins⁸, too, we learn, were settled mostly on the frontiers, and the "coolies"⁹ belonging to the respective villages were settled on their holdings without the option of removing to other villages. The latter were in fact "assigned to the land" similarly as the serfs of Norman times. Maatsuyker urges his successor not to reduce the number of coolies by drafting them to the militia, as he explains "no workmen can be obtained here for payment or hire." Among the other items of revenue mentioned in the instructions are tolls, land revenue, and leases. We

6. Baldaeus—Malabar en Choromandel &c., pp. 95-96.

7. Vol. 1028 D.—Govt. Archives.

8. Native soldiers, from Persian *Lashkari*, a soldier. See Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*; also cf. Hewaya and Hewawasam—Codrington's *Glossary of Native Words*.

9. Those performing menial services.

also learn from these Instructions that the native ranks both military and civil were retained by the Dutch, among them the Mohottiyars, or writers, "who used to keep the registers of the militia and the inhabitants who are subject to any service together with their holdings, and who, therefore, through their great knowledge of local matters can give us full information regarding many particular matters of judicial procedure and other questions, as well as particulars regarding other services which are exacted from the people." Land settlement by the Dutch in Ceylon may be divided into two phases, *viz*, the settlement of villages *en bloc* through one or more mesne lords, who derived the rights and dues usually rendered by the village community to the lord of the village and paid their overlord, *viz*, the Dutch East India Company by substitution, a consolidated rate in money as an acknowledgment of overlordship; and the more elaborate settlement of later times, in which we find that the mesne lord was eliminated, the relations subsisting between mesne lord and tenant giving place to direct relations between overlord and tenant. More attention was, therefore, necessarily directed towards the individual, and we find, accordingly, a corresponding minuteness of detail in the later registers which is absent in the earlier Tombos.

The earliest Dutch Tombo dated 1698 which combines the main features of the Portuguese Tombo and Foral illustrates the method of settlement of the villages in the Galle and a portion of the Walallāwiti Kōrales. The translation of the descriptive heading is as follows, *viz*, "the tombo or statement of the villages in the Galle and a portion of Wallallawitta Corles, according to which it is clearly shown what villages have before this on the orders of the successive Governors of Ceylon been given to the various native servants of the Hon'ble Company, what profits these village-holders have hitherto enjoyed, and what they will derive from them in future according to the orders of His Excellency the Governor, Gerrit de Heere, written in—September, 1689". The translation of the first four entries has follows, *viz*. "(1) To Joan Alvis Wickeremesinge Moddeliar are allowed and granted under the name of main-

tenance 2 villages called Haupemawella and Oedemallegalle, and this as it appears in respect of his service of Moddeliar or commander over 8 ranchuwas¹⁰ of lascarins. These villages were granted to him in 1676 and 1679 by His Excellency the Governor Ryklof van Goens the Younger, according to two olas signed by His said Excellency himself.

The male issue of his family consists of

4 sons, *viz*,

2 over 12 years of age

2 over 8 „ „

1 village Haupemawelle in the Galle Corle

of sowing extent in former times.....25 amunams¹¹

extent prepared during the last few years 9 amunams

Total 34 amunams

and 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ amunams¹² of arecanuts.

Deduct 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ of amunams of sowing extent which are allowed free to the Majoraals¹³, grain-measurers¹⁴, and washermen¹⁵ for their village services, the village lord not appropriating any proportion thereof....2 $\frac{1}{4}$ amunams

There remains for the lord of the village.....31 $\frac{3}{4}$ amunams and 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ amunams of arecanuts.

These fields are as follows, *viz*,

2 amunams muttettu-kumbura¹⁶ or mud fields which must be sown and harvested for the village lord without any payment

10. Ranchuwa = A company of 24 lascarins or native soldiers.

11. Native dry measure. 1 amunam = 4 pelas = 40 kurunies.

12. Small amunam, 24,000 arecanuts; large amunam, 27 to 28,000.

13. Kariyakaranna, see Codrington's Glossary of Native Words. Also see Burnand's Memoir (1809),—Monthly Literary Register Vol. II, p. 206.

14. Mananna. Cf. Codrington's Glossary, &c.

15. Pediya, or washerman.

16. Field which is sown on account of the king or other proprietor, temporary grantee, or lord of a village, as distinguished from fields of the other inhabitants of the village who are liable to perform services or render dues (D'Oyly)—see Codrington's Glossary, &c.

being made therefore, only the seed-corn being granted by the lord, $29\frac{3}{4}$ amunams otu-kumbura¹⁷ and owittes mostly mud lands.

These are sown and harvested by the villagers, their own seed-corn, ploughs, and beasts being used therefor, and yield to the lord in a reasonable harvest one amunam of crop for each amunam of seed-corn: Total $31\frac{3}{4}$ amunams muttettu-kumbura, otu-kumbura, and owittes as above. 1 village Oedoemallegalle in the Galle Corle
Of sowing extent in former times.....12 amunams
Shown in the recently compiled Tombo as additional extent prepared for sowing..... 6 amunams

18 amunams

and 7 amunams of arecanuts:

Deduct $4\frac{1}{2}$ amunams of sowing extent which is granted free to the Writer¹⁸, Majoraals, and lascorins as "accomidisan"¹⁹ or maintenance..... $4\frac{1}{2}$ amunams

13 $\frac{1}{2}$ amunams

and 7 amunams of arecanuts.

These fields consist of as follows, viz,

1 amunam muttettu-kumbura or mud fields

12 $\frac{1}{2}$ otu-kumbura and owittes, for the greater part mud-fields. Total which is sown for the lord of the village, and in respect of which he derives the dues, and the service of those liable to perform service in the same way as if they were rendered to the Hon'ble Company.

In addition this lord of the village receives the following rights and lord's dues, in place of the Company, from the abovementioned two villages, viz. From the Majoraals, and garden dues..... $4\frac{3}{5}$ rds²⁰.....

17. Fields taxed at one-tenth of the produce, or a measure of harvest for each measure of seed-corn, the average rate of-increase being rated at ten-fold.

18. Liyanna, the "writer" of a village who keeps a register of the crops and the quantity of corn reaped and collected, of which he is obliged to give an account to the possessor.

19. Port., accomodacao; cf. Accommodessan and D wel Weda wasam, Codrington's Glossary, &c.

20. Rixdollars.

For $16\frac{3}{10}$ rds. the villagers are bound to bring to this lord of the village..... $20\frac{3}{8}$ amunams arecanut.

Idem "baddoc²¹-arecanuts," or for nothing 3 amunams
..... $23\frac{3}{8}$ amunams
arecanuts, which were previously rated at $31\frac{1}{8}$ rds., before
the rate was fixed by the Company at $\frac{4}{5}$ rds. the amunam,
the amount due to him accordingly being..... $74\frac{4}{5}$ rds.

Total $79\frac{3}{5}$ rds.

Deduct from this the cost of the arecanut..... $16\frac{3}{10}$ rds.
Idem for "foros"²² or lord's dues²³ being all that
the Hon: Company receives as an acknowledgment from
the above-mentioned two villages..... 5 rds.

Total $21\frac{3}{10}$ rds.

But in future this lord of the village shall receive from the abovementioned two villages nothing more than the rights of the sowing and $4\frac{3}{5}$ rds. as lord's dues, against which he must pay yearly to the Hon: Company 5 rds. as "Foros" or lord's dues. (2) To **Don Francisco de Za Bandarnaike Appohamy**, who had had as his maintenance as commander of 7 ranchuwas of lascorins the village Wahalekananke in the Beligam Corle, which village has been resumed by the Hon: Company on the orders of H. E. the Governor Gerrit de Heere, there being granted to him in its place the 2 villages Bope and Metterambe in the Galle Corle: has no sons, only 1 cousin who resides with him. 1 village Bope of sowing extent in former times 12 amunams. Extent prepared during the last few years 1 amunam

Total 13 amunams
and 6 amunams of arecanuts; Deduct $\frac{1}{4}$ amunam of sowing
extent the which is granted free to the washerman of the
village..... $\frac{1}{4}$ amunam
There remains for the village lord..... $13\frac{3}{4}$ amunams
and 6 amunams of arecanuts. The abovementioned fields

21. Tax.

22. Quit-rents. Cf. Port. Foral.

23. Overlord's dues, here.

consist of $\frac{1}{4}$ amunam muttettu-kumbura which must be sown and harvested, etc., (see entry No. 1) $12\frac{1}{2}$ amunams otuwittes, or high fields of bad quality, which are sown and harvested by the villagers, etc., (see No. 1). Total $12\frac{3}{4}$ amunams.

1 village Metterambe of sowing extent in former times..... 12 amunams
Extent prepared during the last few years..... 3 amunams
and $16\frac{5}{8}$ amunams arecanuts..... 15 amunams

Deduct 2 amunams which is granted free to the majoraals:
and lascorins 2 amunams
There remains for the village lord 13 amunams

and $16\frac{5}{8}$ amunams arecanuts.

These fields consist of 13 amunams otu-kumbura and owittes, mud and high fields but for the most part mud fields. Total, which is sown for this village lord and in respect of which are rendered to him the dues and service of the service holders in place of the Hon : Company..... $25\frac{3}{4}$ amunams and $22\frac{5}{8}$ amunams arecanuts.

In addition to the above, he receives the following rights and lord's dues, in place of the Company from the above-mentioned 2 villages, viz: 500-600 coconuts²⁴, and from the majoraals, and garden dues..... $3\ 51/60$ rds. For $14\ \frac{2}{5}$ rds. the inhabitants are bound to bring to the said lord at $\frac{4}{5}$ rds. the amunam..... 18 amunams

Do "baddoe" arecanuts, or for nothing $4\frac{5}{8}$ amunams

Total $22\frac{5}{8}$ amunams
which was rated at $3\frac{1}{5}$ rds. the amunam before the rate of $\frac{4}{5}$ rds. the amunam was fixed by the Hon : Company, and which would, therefore, bring him..... $72\frac{2}{5}$ rds.

Total $76\frac{1}{4}$ rds.
Deduct the cost of the arecanuts above..... $14\frac{2}{5}$ rds.

do the amount payable to the Hon : Company as "foros" or lord's dues, being all that the Company receives from the

24. Cf. "Polayapanam," a Sinhalese tax on coconuts.

abovementioned 2 villages as an acknowledgment *viz.*, 4 rds. Total which this village lord formerly enjoyed, when he delivered the arecanuts from the village Wahalekananke to the Company at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ rds. the amunam.....57 51/60 rds. But in future this village lord shall receive from the abovementioned two villages no more than the rights of the sowing and 3 51/60 rds. (3) **Anthonan Alvis**, under the title of **Adigar**²⁵ of **Bentote** who commands 4 ranchuwas of lascorins, and performs, under the Superintendent of the Corles, the work of the Hon : Company in this portion of the Wallallawitte Corle, had had the village Induruwa for his maintenance, in extent 105 amunams of sowing, and contributing 15 amunams of arecanuts, and 13 23/60 rds. as lord's dues, which had been granted to him in the manner aforesaid by H. E. the Governor Thomas van Rhee by an ola signed by H. E. but which has now been resumed by the Company, the village, Hinitigalle being granted to him instead as Adigar or Commander over 4 ranchuwas of lascorins, in order that he may continue in that service: 1 village Hinitigalle, of sowing extent as formerly,30 amunams, extent prepared during the last few years..... $5\frac{1}{2}$ amunams

35 $\frac{3}{8}$ amunams

and 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ amunams arecanuts. Deduct $5\frac{1}{2}$ amunams which is granted free to the majoraals, lascorins, washerman, and smith for their services, the lord deriving nothing therefrom $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Balance for the village lord.....30 amunams.

These fields consist of as follows, *viz.*: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ amunams muttettu-kumbura or mud-fields, etc., 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ amunams otukumbura and owittes, or mud and high lands, etc. Total 30 amunams as above.

In addition to this the village lord receives from the abovementioned village the following rights and lord's dues in place of the Hon : Company, *viz.*: From the Majoraals, and garden and fishing dues²⁶ $6\frac{2}{3}$ rds. For 15 $\frac{2}{3}$ rds. the inhabit-

25. Here an officer of inferior rank (to Dissawa or Mudaliyar)

26. "Vissers Geregtigheid" or fisher's tax. Cf. Delpanan, Orupanan, &c.

ants are bound to supply to the village lord 19½ amunams arecanut.

Do "badde" arecanut, or for nothing 3¼ amunams

Total 22¾ amunams

which was previously purchased by the Hon : Company at 3½ rds. the amunam, before the rate was fixed at $\frac{4}{8}$ rds. the amunam and for which he was therefore paid 72 $\frac{4}{8}$ rds.

Total 79 $\frac{3}{8}$ rds.

Deduct the cost of the arecanuts 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ rds.

Do for "foros" or lord's dues, which is all that the Hon : Company receives as an acknowledgment from the above-mentioned village 4½ rds. 20 1/10 rds. Total this village-lord enjoyed formerly, when he supplied arecanuts to the Hon : Company 3½ rds. the amunam in addition to the rights of the sowing and dues in money 59 3/10 rds., 30 amunams of sowing extent, and 22¾ am : areca : But, in future, this village lord shall receive nothing more than the rights of the sowing and 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ rds. in money as lord's dues, and he must pay yearly to the Hon : Company on the other hand 4½ rds. as "foros" or lord's dues. (4) **To Pasquael de Sose Raija Paksa, Moddeliar of the Mahabadde** is allowed and granted under the name of maintenance 2 villages called Kiembie and Oedeegamme, and this as it appears in respect of his Moddeliar's service, viz., as commander over 8 ranchuwas of lascorins. These villages were granted to him in the year 16... by H.E. the Governor Lourens Pyl, as His Excellency's act of appointment testifies. His family consists in male issue as follows, viz : He has no sons, only 1 nephew adopted by him over 12 years of age. 1 village kiembie of sowing extent as formerly 30 amunams
extent prepared during the last few years 12 do

Total 42 amunams

and $13\frac{5}{8}$ amunams arecanuts. Deduct 7 amunams which is granted free to the majoraals, lascorins, and washerman, etc., etc..... 7 amunams
 Balance for the village lord..... 35 amunams
 and $13\frac{5}{8}$ amunams arecanuts. These fields consist of amunams arecanuts. These fields consist of 1 amunam muttettu-kumbura, etc., etc., 34 amunams otu-kumbura and owitees, etc., etc. Total 35 amunams as above. 1 village Oeddegamme³ of sowing extent as formerly 24 amunams
 Extent prepared during the last few years 4 amunams

Total 28 amunams

Deduct $6\frac{1}{2}$ amunams which is granted free to the majoraals, widow of an arachchy²⁷, and lascorins, as accommolessan. Balance for the village lord $21\frac{1}{2}$ amunams
 These fields consist of $1\frac{3}{4}$ amunams muttettu-kumbura, or mud lands $19\frac{3}{4}$ otu-kumbura and owittes. The fields of the abovementioned villages are nearly all good mud lands, excepting 5 or 6 amunams which are high lands or owittes. Total which is sown for this village lord and in respect of which he receives the dues and service of the service-holders, etc.,..... $56\frac{1}{2}$ amunams
 and 19₈ amunams arecanuts.

In addition to the above, this village lord receives the rights of the sowing and lord's dues, in place of the Hon : Company, from the abovementioned 2 villages, viz: From the majoraals, and garden dues..... $6\frac{3}{10}$ rds. For $14\frac{2}{5}$ rds. the inhabitants are bound to bring to this village lord.....18 am : areca :

Do "badde" and "muttettu" arecanut $1\frac{5}{8}$ amunams

Total $19\frac{5}{8}$ amunams

which was sold to the Hon : Company at $3\frac{1}{5}$ rds. the am : before the price was fixed at ⁴ rds. for which he received accordingly.....62 rds.

Total-69 $1/10$ rds.

²⁷. Military rank subordinate to Muhandiram, or chief of a "ranchuwa" or company of 24 lascorins.

Deduct the cost of the arecanut as above $14\frac{2}{5}$ rds.

Do as foros or lord's dues being all that the Hon: Company receives as an acknowledgment 5 rds. Total which this village lord received formerly, when the arecanut was purchased by the Hon: Company at $3\frac{1}{2}$ rds. the amunam, in addition to the sowing rights and dues in each 49 $\frac{7}{10}$ rds.

There follow similar entries in respect of Muhandiram, Arachchies, Atukoralas, Lascarins, etc. which I shall quote in so far as they illustrate the basis of the grant, the nature of the service for which it was made, and the village services for which the free or "ninda" allowance of sowing extent was reserved from the grantee's allotment.

"To **Donaet Mageljaen, Mohandiram of the Mahabadde**²⁸ is allowed and granted under the name of maintenance the village Commalle, Paragodde, in respect, as it appears, of the service of Mohandiram or commander over 4 ranchuwas of lascorins, etc., etc. To the Aratchies Don Joan Allahapirma and Vincent de Reys Goddepitti Appohamy are allowed and granted under the name of maintenance the village Cumbalwelle, and this, as it appears, for their Aratchie's service, viz., as commander over a ranchuwa or 24 lascorins.

The former Araatje had sole possession of this village, but now, on the orders of H.E. the Governor Gerrit de Heere the latter is hereby given an equal portion, 1 village Combawelle³ in extent as formerly 12 amunams extent prepared for sowing during the last few years.....12 amunams

Total 24 amunams
and $7\frac{3}{8}$ amunams arecanuts.

Deduct $9\frac{3}{8}$ amunams of sowing extent which is granted free to the Majoraals, writers, grain-measurer, lascorins, nambu-karaya lascorins²⁹, and washermen for their services.

28. "Great tax"; here, the Great Cinnamon Department; cf. "Hulanbadda" and "Ruhana badda."

29. Cadets. (Nambukaraya = honourable person).

To the Araatjies Don Anthony O pate and Don Steven Hetty is granted the village Ellekake. The former has had sole possession of this village up to the present, but, his income being excessive, thereby, the half of its revenues are hereby granted to the latter.

To Don Francisco, Attoecorrale³⁰ of the Talpe Pattoe, or a portion of the Galle Corle, are granted the revenues from the village Angulugaha, and that for his Attukorala's service which consists in continually supervising the nayndes, coolies, and other liable to perform service, in the performance of their obligatory services.

To Aenthonie de Zilve, Araatje of the woodcutters, and 6 sawyers is granted.....

....To 25 lascorins under the Superintendent of the Galle Corle is granted for their lascarin's service, *viz.*, that 12 of them should continually collect the Company's dues, etc.

To 4 lascorins who formerly possessed their maintenance in the Matara district.....is granted the village Gallalwellandane, which was formerly held in excess of their maintenance by 2 Nanayakarayas³¹ ("*ledigh lopers*" *i.e.* idle fellows, or here, those performing no service).

Namendegalle consists of 34 amunams otu-owittes or taxable high lands....., Tottekanatte in the Wallalla-witte Corle was granted to the father of the present Vidaan and 1 lascorin by H.E. the Governor Admiral Rykloff van Goens. The village yields no arecanuts, nor "*dekkum*"³² or tax..... 1 village Battedouwe.....12 amunams otu-owittes, or taxable high lands.

30. Atukorala or Assistant of a Korala (Kariyakaranna). See Codrington's Glossary, &c.

31. The Dutch although they retained the old tenures naturally gave prominence to those from which they derived any profit, hence their contemptuous reference to Nanayakarayas. For definition of the term see Valentyn's *Beschryving van Ceylon* p. 3, and Schreuder's *Memoir*, MS p. 145, &c.; and below.

32. Lit., "appearance," here, a commuted payment for the present given to the chief or lord on the tenant's annual appearance. See Codrington's Glossary, &c.

From this village they (1 Arachchy and 2 lascorins) receive the following dues in place of the Company, *viz*:

From the Majoraals and garden dues.....1 1/10 rds.

From the chunam-burners 28 parrahs of lime at 3 stivers the parrah.....1 2/3 rds...
1 village Tauwelamme has no fields nor arecanuts, the lascorins maintaining themselves by clearing the jungle and sowing chenas³³.

To 6 lascorins had been granted for their maintenance by H.E. the Governor Rykloff van Goens the Younger a piece of land called Santamanwatte planted with 400 old coconut trees, the profits of which being very moderate, the said 6 lascorins were continued in possession thereof on the orders of H.E. the Governor Gerrit de Heere.

Lastly, I shall quote an extract relating to 43 of the serf class who were originally settled on their holdings in the times of the Sinhalese kings, *viz*: To 43 persons, *viz*: 2 durayas, 1 6 hulawalyas,³⁴ 8 "cann:lerus"³⁵, 17 Panneas,³⁶ 4 Pannewiddecareas,³⁷ and 5 coolies, residing in the villages Wallembealle and Tunduwa situated in this portion of the Wallallawitte Corle, being lands which are their hereditary holdings or "parwenies", which were granted to be planted and sown by them free of tax during the reigns of the Sinhalese kings, *viz*:

43 persons, *viz*:

6 Hinnedurias 6) and Panneheedecarias (sic) of Toedoe-gattere)

1 Kalingaduria has 2 sors, *viz*,

1 over 27 years of age, service panniwiiddiekaria

1 do 22 do do do do

33. High forest or jungle land cultivated at intervals.

34. Hulawaliya—title of headman of the Paduwas and Rodiyas.

35. Port: Canneleros = Cinnamon-peelers.

36. Leaf or grass cutters for the Elephants, &c.

37. Lit., messengers.

- 1 Wedihingeiaduria has 2 sons *viz.*, penniwiddickaria
 - 1 over 30 years of age do
 - 1 do 35 do do
 - 2 sons *viz.*:
 - 1 over 7 years
 - 1 over 5 years
 - 6 Hoelewalyas under Toendoegattere, *viz.*,
 - 1 Moenindae has 1 brother over 23 years of age
 - 1 Koemera Hoelewaliya 2 brothers
 - 1 over 20 years of age
 - 1 do 15 do
 - 1 Wattoewa has
 - 1 son over 12 years of age
 - 1 brother 25 do
 - 1 Salera has 4 sons, *viz.*,
 - 1 over 35 years of age
 - 1 do 22 do
 - 1 do 20 do
 - 1 do 17 do
 - 1 Peroema has 2 sons, *viz.*:
 - 1 over 20 years of age
 - 1 over 18 do
 - 1 brother over 45 years of age
 - 1 Koesela has
 - 1 son over 10 years of age
 - 1 brother over 20 years of age
-
- 6 Hoelewalias
 - 9 Cannelerus under Toendoegattere
 - 1 Soeneja
 - 1 Wayinda
 - 1 Aresa has
 - 1 son Kaloewa
 - 1 Hamadia
 - 1 Wattoewa
 - 1 Poerena has
 - 1 son Manikoewa
-

9 Cannelerus as above

17 Panneas under Toedogattere, viz :

- 1 Poensoe
- 1 Hendae
- 1 Pandoewa has
- 1 son Aroema
- 1 Rakina
- 1 Anangia
- 1 Aroema
- 1 Zalindae
- 1 Hamadia
- 1 Zamera
- 1 Aroema has
- 1 brother over 10 years of age
- 1 Tenoewara has
- 1 son over 15 years of age
- 1 Lorenzoewa
- 1 Joewamma
- 1 Anthonia has
- 1 brother over 20 years of age
- 1 Maloewa
- 1 Anthonia

17 Panneas as above

5 "Coelys" under Toendoegattere, viz :

- 1 Ameroewa
- 1 Joewamma
- 1 Doemingoewa
- 1 Manetoenga has
- 1 son over 6 years of age
- 1 Kaloewa

5 Coolies as above

Total 43 as mentioned above.

1 village Wallembegalle in extent as formerly 5½ amunams

1 do Toendoewe do do 15½ do

and 6 amunams arecanuts.

Total, which these Hinnawas⁴⁰ cultivate free without paying any tax therefor, 21 amunams and 6 amunams arecanuts; for $4\frac{1}{2}$ rds. the inhabitants or Hinnawas are bound to bring to the Hon : Company 6 amunams arecanuts for which the Hon : Company pays them at $\frac{1}{2}$ rds. the amunams.... $4\frac{1}{2}$ rds.

Item for "engebaddé"⁴¹ or lord's dues being all that the Company enjoys as an acknowledgment.....92-20 rds.

These extracts, which are typical of the entire Tombo illustrate the main features of feudalism in Ceylon. The Dutch East-India Company appears in it by substitution as overlord or Lord of the Land (*Landheer*): the mesne, or village lords hold of the Company and derive the overlord's dues, viz: the rights of the sowing, or the muttettu or lord's field and the tithe of produce, garden tax ("Wattu-badda" and "wattu-pandura"), the majoraal's or *gamarala's* dues, "engebaddé" or poll-tax (*lijfgeld*), "*d. kkum*" or a commuted tax for the "Present" rendered to the lord at the annual "*paresse*" or levee, "*polwatte piedie*" and "*polloye panam*," the taxes on coconuts, etc., etc., and pay to the Company a consolidated amount as their acknowledgment of overlordship; and the tenant holds of the mesne lord and renders him his tithes and service. We also find that a certain proportion of the sowing was granted free to the tenants by service, and in one case, that the widow of an Arachchi was also given a free allotment. We see that the economical unit was a dry, and not a surface measure, the only possible inference being that it had no relation to the land as such but only to the capacity of the land to produce a fixed quantity of paddy, etc. We are also afforded a glimpse of the mutual relations of overlord and village-lord, and of village-lord and tenant, and we now understand the hard and fast line of demarcation between the freeman and the serfs, the companions and followers, let us assume, of the "Conqueror," and the aboriginal inhabitants and the degraded classes of the Island. The mutual relations of

38. Washermen to the Salagama Caste—Haly's Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese, p. 101.

39. "Lijfgeld" body or poll-tax.

40. Washerman to Salagama—Haly's Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese p. 101.

41. "Lijfgeld" = body or poll-tax.

lord and tenant were practically identical with those in Norman times, but with perhaps, this difference in degree, *viz*: that the overlord in Ceylon was more absolute in theory than his Norman parallel, and that the relations between him and his tenant were more of an impersonal nature. A village of human units did not exist for him, but only an aggregate of service shares. Each share, or *pangu*, represented a particular service, and the tenant held the share only so long as he performed the service attached to it. Shares escheating to the lord on the death of the tenant (*malapālu*) or on forfeiture or abolition of service (*nilapālu*) reverted to the common stock of the village community till such time as the service was revived, the lord claiming half the produce if in the meantime the share or any part of it was cultivated by another tenant. These rights of escheat again furnish another parallel with the English system. The Sinhalese tax of "*marāla*"⁴³, was also adopted by the Dutch in their early settlement of the Matara district. Valentyn's definition of the term, which was taken from an official document is translated as follows, "*marāla*"⁴³ is a tribute of the Lord of the Land whereby the Lord derives one third of the (movable) goods of the deceased as showing that the deceased had held his lands of the King or Lord of the Land, all of which the Company causes to be recovered from those who reside in the Matara district, but from no Christians,—only from the heathen."

We now come to the "Revised Dutch Thombo" of the Colombo Dissāwany, and the Galle Thombos, which were in force at the time of the British occupation in the beginning of 1796. The Thombos are registers of the holdings in each village, which the Dutch Company administered directly without the interposition of a mesne lord. The Company's dues—the overlord's dues of the Portuguese Foral and the earlier Dutch Thombos—are shown in the register of holdings, and, more attention being now directed to the actual tenant, his name together with the names of the members of his family or *ge*, (house) who were eligible to

43. Heriot.

perform the service for which he derived his holding, by rotation, or ultimately to succeed him, were entered against the lands possessed by them in a separate register called the Hoofd Thombo in respect of the Colombo Dissāwany, and in the same register as regards the Galle Commandment. The register of holdings shows the service *praveni* lands attached to the tenure, usually a free sowing extent of arable land, the gardens possessed as ancestors' *praveni* or planted with or without consent, all taxed by the Company at $\frac{1}{3}$ rd or $\frac{1}{2}$ their improved value according to the number of coconut, jak and arecanut trees planted thereon, fields cultivated in excess of the free allotment which yielded 1/10th of the produce, or *otu*, to the Company, *malapālu* and *nilapālu* lands, *viz*: lands which had escheated to the Company through failure of heirs or through abolition of tenure which paid *anda* or $\frac{1}{2}$ when cultivated by a tenant of a different class, *muttettu* or the lord's domain, a survival of the earlier Thombos, *Ratmahera*, or the king's waste, *Ratninda* or the king's sowing, *purang* or marshy land, *welhadu*, the meaning of which is obscure but which probably referred to arable land, and *chenas*, which were high lands cultivated annually either to supplement the free allotment for the particular tenure, or on payment of *otu*. The register also shows the taxes payable on gardens besides the Company's share, *viz*: "*badu*" arecanut or arecanuts levied without payment, arecanuts for which payment was made at a fixed price usually much lower than the market value, and *watu-badde* and *watu-panduru*, taxes levied in money according to the number of coconut and jak trees growing on the land. Each holding in the village is numbered consecutively, and a statement at the end of the list shows the unallocated lands of the village, in gardens by name, and in fields, marshy land, *chenas*, and waste land in sowing extent. Here is a village, or I should say a group of villages, which according to the evidence in the Thombo was a former *Dewālagama*. The Dutch had converted it into a "*dispens dorp*" or "store village"—the equivalent of the *gabādāgama*—of the Dutch Dissāwa of the Colombo Dissāwany. At a later date than the Thombo under reference, the ancient dues were converted by the

Dutch into a levy of limes and ginger from the principal shareholders, but at the time of the settlement recorded in the Thombo, most of the former tenures were maintained, *i.e.*, shown in the Thombo, the Dutch declaring that the tenants' free rights had lapsed owing to absence of proof to the contrary, and that the Company's share of $\frac{1}{3}$ rd from the gardens and *otu* from the fields were payable in future. This dispossession and oppressive regrant was made in respect of the *Nānāyakārayas* or 'nobles', the *lascarins* or (soldiers) of the Basnāyaka, the Paduwas or serfs, who worked the lord's *muttettu*, the dancers, Singing-master (sic), and servants of the Dewāla, and the Basnayaka himself who appears to have removed to another village probably in disgust at the loss of his prestige and revenues, although he continued to possess his former holding under the vexatious conditions attaching to the regrant. The useful tenures were, however, retained, and free allotments of sowing were granted to the tenants. The unit would appear originally to have been divided into 144 *pangus* or shares apportioned among the Basnāyaka of the Dewāla, Nānāyakārayas, Gamarālas, Kangaans, Goigama and Duraya Lascarins of the Basnāyaka, Goldsmiths, Village Smiths, Carpenters, Messengers, Potters, Hulawāliyas or Headmen of the Paduwa, Berewāya and Oliya castes, a Paduwa Mahaduraya or Moquedor, Paduwa Mannannas, Paduwas, Wahumpurās, several village washermen, and Palliyas or washermen of the Paduwas, etc. The new tenures include "half-mayoraals" (or gamaralas), Sapramāḍus or nobles of the new regime, and "extraordinary services", under which captian the Dutch included services for which there were no ancient tenures. The goldsmiths, the village smiths, and carpenters still contribute yearly to the lord, *viz*: the Dutch Company, a lance-head "as an acknowledgment or *dekkum*," and the Potters a pingo of pots each. A typical entry in respect of the dispossessed tenants is the following. A (I omit the name), Goigama caste, possesses 3 gardens, *viz.*, (1) praveni derived from his mother, planted with—coconuts,—jak and—arecanut trees, (2) praveni derived from his mother, planted with—coconut,—jak and—arecanut trees, (3) Muttettu planted without consent by

A's son : all declared the Company's lands in default of proof of ownership, the Company's share still being due ; 5 fields, A, B, C, D, and E (in extent roughly 5 amunams) formerly possessed free for service of lascorin under the Basnāyaka, but, as A according to his own statement is no longer one, he must pay otu for them in future. One of the " useful" services is provided for as follows. B (Sapramādu) possesses 7 gardens, 3 gardens gamarāla's praveni, 2 Company's lands planted without consent, 1 Nānāyakārāya's malapālu, 1 Dancer's malapālu, Company's share due from all ; and 11 fields, 2 Sapramādu's service praveni, ninda or free, 1 gamarāla's praveni, pays otu, 6 Company's lands, pay otu and anda, and 1 Chando's malapālu and 1 Dancer's nilapālu, pay anda. The unallocated lands in the village are as follows, 1 field, Nānāyakārāya's nilapālu, sown free by the Vidana as being a muttettu, 2 fields Nānāyakārāya's and Liyanna's nilāpalu, respectively, sown free by Liyanna, 8 Ratninda fields, cultivated yearly free by the villagers, 4 anda fields, 1 Nānāyakārāya's nilapālu, 2 cooly's malapālu, and 1 Olia's nilapālu ; 9 gardens, 2 Chalia's nilapālu, Drummer's malapālu, 1 cooly's malapālu, 1 Nānāyakārāya's nilapālu, 1 Singer's nilapālu, and 3 Company's lands ; Purang ; Chenas. I have selected the ancient Dewala-gama as an example of a village or fiscal unit in which all the village tenures were maintained, under the conditions of the oppressive regnant, for the benefit of the Dutch Dissawa.

The following translation in extenso of an entry in the Revised Thombo illustrates a further step by the Dutch in their system of settlement and registration. The entry is that of a holding in the village of Pita Kotte, in the outskirts of Colombo, possessed by a Sapramādu, or noble of the Portuguese and Dutch regimes, who was also a Nānāyakārāya or noble of the old regime. The Wāsagama or ge-name, Wahala Tantrige or Colombe Tantrige in the Land and Hoofd Thombos, appears in the School Thombo, or Parish Register of Pita Kotte, as Game-etige⁴⁴ translated by the first Portuguese speaking Palliye-Gurunanse or Registrar

44. Gama-etirala, vide Haly's " The Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese," p. 237.

in 1693 as *Dono d'Aldea*, or 'Lord of the Village'. It will be seen that the new methods introduced by the Dutch from their capital exist side by side with the old system. Some of the lands had been surveyed and their extent shown together with the number of coconut, jak and arecanut trees growing thereon. Chiefly, the principle of proprietorship of land as such was beginning to be recognised, not merely the beneficial interest in its produce. Arable land, however, continued to be possessed on service tenures. The entry translated is as follows:—

"No. 1. 1 **Wahala Tantrige** "*alias*" **Colombe Tantrige Don Jeronimus Perera**, Goigama caste."

N.B.—He also possesses certain holdings in the following Corles and villages. In the Raygam Corle, in the villages Madurawolle, Walāna and Mahauyana; in the Pasdun Corle in the village Beneragama; in the Allutcur Corle, in the villages Minuangoda, Halpe, Katunayaka and Weliya; in the Hapitigam Corle, in the villages Weweldeniya and Banduragoda; in the Kalutara District in the villages Alutgama, Galhena, Beruwala, Maggona, Welapura Kalutara and Desastre Kalutara; also in the Salpitty Corle, in the villages Galkissa and Ratmalana.

10½ gardens, *viz*:

1 called Ambegahawatte, in extent 320 square perches, purchased by his grandfather for 15 rixdollars according to the deed passed at the Secretariat of Justice dated January 16, 1722; planted with 127 coconut, 40 jak and 50 arecanut trees, of which 27 coconut trees have been planted by the said Jeronimus Perera, the rest being possessed by his brother Don Abraham Perera.

1 Koongahawatte, Nanayakaraya's service praveni planted by his father and entered as the Company's land in default of proof of ownership, the Company's share still being due; planted with 70 coconut, 18 jak and 10 arecanut trees.

½ Telenboegahawatte planted by his father with 7 coconut and 2 jak trees.

½ Koongahawatte planted by his father with 95 coconut and 11 jak trees.

1 Kosgahawatte Company's land planted by his father and Their Honours' share amounting to 10 rixdollars, 1 stiver having been paid in full by the said Don Jeronimus and his brother Don Abraham, *vide* produced receipts dated June 6, 1753, and 28 January 1757, signed by Ryckloff Isaack Kriekenbeek; planted with 45 coconut and 27 jak trees.

1 Madeteyegahawatte, Company's land planted by the said Jeronimus Perera and their Honours' share amounting to 56 rixdollars and 5 stivers having been paid in full according to produced receipt dated December 19, 1745, signed by the former Dessave J. van Sanden; planted with 233 coconut and 82 jak trees.

1 Moettettoewatte, Company's land planted as above and their Honours' share amounting to 17 rixdollars and 30 stivers having been paid in full, *vide* receipt dated April 29, 1749, signed as above; planted with 317 coconut and 15 jak trees.

1 Pattiyewatte, Company's land planted as above and their Honours' share amounting to 3 rixdollars and 6 stivers having been paid in full, *vide* receipt dated June 6, 1753, signed by R. I. Kriekenbeek, the Company's share in respect of the coconut trees being still due; planted with 35 coconut, 12 jak and 7 arecanut trees.

1 Kahattegahawatte, Company's land planted without consent by the said Jeronimus Perera's brother Abraham Perera by which their Honours' share amounting to 29 rixdollars and 10 stivers has been paid in full, *vide* receipt dated 11 February, 1750, signed by the former Dissawe, J. V. Sanden; planted with 467 coconut and 36 jak trees.

1 Deniyewatte Company's land planted without consent by the said Don Jeronimus Perera's grandfather the Company's share still being due; planted with 10 coconut, 2 jak and 6 arecanut trees.

1/2 Pattiyewatte, cowherd's malapalu, planted with 24 coconut and 2 jak trees.

1 Ambegahawatte, Company's land planted without consent of which the Company's share amounting to 6 rixdollars and 44 stivers has been paid in full by one Gangodawillege Bastiaan Perera on behalf of his grandfather Joan Perera *alias*

Gangodawillege Joan, *vide* receipt dated December 3, 1760, issued by the Consumptie Boekhouder at Hultsdorp Mr. Petrus Van Dort, the said garden having been transferred by the said Gangodawillege Bastiaan Perera and his brothers and sisters to the son of the said Don Jeronimus Perera by name Don Carolus Perera, and a land received in exchange belonging to the said Don Carolus Perera situated in the village Mapittigama in the Siyana Corle, called Gangeboddebelligahawatte planted with 27 coconut, 10 jak and arecanut trees.

11 $\frac{1}{3}$ Sowing fields *viz*:

$\frac{1}{2}$ called Galpotttekumbura, Saffermadu's service praveni 6 kurunies ninda.

$\frac{1}{2}$ Dawettegahakumbura do do 5 kurunies, ninda.

$\frac{1}{3}$ Pattiakumbura, cowherd, malapalu; 13 kurunies, pays anda.

1 Pottuwillekumbura Company's land cultivated without consent by Jeronimus Perera's father, 15 kurunies, ninda.

1 Helpotttekumbura do do 10 kurunies, ninda.

1 Kawayawalleboddeowitte do 1 am. 5 k. owita.

1 Willemendepilleweowitte do 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ k. owita.

N.B.—According to produced half of an ola dated June 1679, signed by H.E. the former Governor of this Island R. V. Goens the Younger there was granted to the said Jeronimus Perera as accommodesan for his Safferamadu's service the above mentioned garden Pattiwatte and 7 ammunams of sowing, which is now divided among his children for 3 Safferamadu's holdings, together with many other lands.

1 Helpotttekumbura, Company's land cultivated by Jeronimus Perera's father without consent, pays otu, 20 kurunies.

1 Udumullekumbura, Company's land cultivated by the said Jeronimus without consent, yields otu, 10 kurunies.

1 Elledoewekumbura.....3 amunams otu

1 Diwasnawekumbura3 do

Company's land cultivated with consent by Jeronimus Perera according to Sannas ola dated February 5, 1740, signed by the former Heer Dessave J. de Jong, the said 6 amunams being possessed as above, subject to payment of otu.

1 Kawayawallekumbura, Company's land granted for cultivation by the former Governor J. V. S. Van Gollennesse to Don Jeronimus' brother Don Abraham, to be held as his own land subject to payment of otu to the Company with power to sell or exchange the same as he may see fit, *vide* produced deed of gift dated February 10, 1747, and signed by His said Excellency, 1 ammunam 10 kurunies.

1 Kajugahaowitte, Company's land, yields otu, and possessed by the said Don Jeronimus Perera and his brother Don Abraham."

To sum up, what we read of Norman England is equally true of feudalism in Ceylon, *viz*: the linking of obligation, generally, with the possession of land, and the basing of social conditions on tenure, from the king from whom every tenure depended to the humblest serf cultivating the land of his lord. There are the same classes of tenure, such as tenure by *frankalmoign* whereby land was given to the Church without any temporal service being demanded in return, tenure by knight service, *per servitium militare*, tenure in serjeantry such as the Nānāyakāraya and Safframadu tenures, tenure in socage such as tenure by free peasants for agricultural services, etc., and, lastly, the servile tenures, the evil effects of which at the present day are sure signs of the vitality of the system. There was the same dispossession and oppressive re-grant, the commutation of service for money, and the payment of death-duties (*marāla*) and reliefs.

I should like to point out, however, that there appear to be traces in the system of an earlier interest in the land apart from the beneficial interest in its produce. I refer to the gedera-watte or the highland planted with coconut, jak and arecanut, on which the homestead stood of the chief of the family or *ge* or clan, suggesting an earlier tribal settlement. It is also significant that the Dutch who so sedulously revived the ancient system—anything, in fact, to placate the people and exploit them accord-

ing to precedent—did not usually regard “gardens” as service holdings. They recognised the transfer of gardens by private sale and introduced the sale of gardens by auction *vendutie*, a word that has been naturalised by the Sinhalese. It was usually only the arable land as already stated that was employed as a means of payment for services rendered. It was a vital matter which all invaders recognised that their rights of ownership had to defer to some extent to established custom, and the result was often a working compromise between the theory of absolute ownership and the original freehold rights of the people.

In conclusion, the phenomenon of caste in India and Ceylon is probably due to their long history of invasion and conquest and the solidarity of the growth of the feudal idea irrespective of climate or age. A soldier was reduced in Dutch times to the position of a menial, and a Nānāyakaraya or noble of the Sinhalese regime was called ‘an idle fellow’ (*ledig looper*) by the usurper because his rank required him to perform no service but one in keeping with his position, an impossible condition in a conquered territory. It is, one long history of change and re-adjustment of values, the ebb and flow of restless currents of humanity unconsciously fulfilling their destiny, the agents to-day and the victims to-morrow of the immutable laws of cause and effect.

5. On a motion proposed by the Chairman seconded by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka a vote of thanks was accorded to the Lecturer.

6. A vote of thanks to the Chair proposed by the Hon. Mr. Edward W. Perera was carried with acclamation.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 28th, 1928.

Present :

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley K.C.M.G.,
Patron (in the chair.)

Dr. P. E. Pieris Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. K. W. Y. Atukorala,
Muhandiram
Mr. R. L. Brohier
Mr. A. M. Caldera B.A.
Mr. J. C. De
Mr. R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala
B.A.
Mr. S. Baron Dias
Mr. T. Gracie
Mr. Herod Gunaratna,
Mudaliyar
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,
Gate Mudaliyar
Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A.
Mr. M. H. Jayatilaka
Mr. W. W. Karunaratna
Mr. S. B. Kuruppu

Dr. G. P. Malalasekara M.A.,
Ph.D.
Prof. R. Marrs, C.I.E.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere,
Maha Mudaliyar
Prof. S. A. Pakeman M.A.
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar
Mr. C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S.
Mr. Edmund Reimers
Mr. J. L. C. Rodrigo, M.A.
Mr. C. S. S. S. S.
Mr. K. S. S. S.
Mr. M. S. Vaidyasuriya

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,
Honorary Secretaries.*Business :*

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 22nd June, 1928, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. Edmund Reimers, Government Archivist, read the following report on the proceedings of the 150th Anniversary Celebrations of the Royal Batavian Society, at which he was present as the Representative of this Society:—

In response to the invitation extended to this Society by the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Letters to the celebrations connected with the 150th anniversary of the foundation of the Society I was deputed to represent this Society at Batavia where I arrived on April 19. I was met at the harbour of Batavia, Tandjong Priok, by Mr. P. Gediking, the indefatigable Secretary of the Batavian Society, who had already made the necessary arrangements for my stay at Batavia, my host being Mr. S. W. Zeverijn of 15, Koningsplein Zuid, Weltevreden.

The following is the official programme of events which centred round the chief event on the 24th April the commemoration ceremony in the Historical Hall of the Museum of Batavia, viz.,

April 22. A reception to the delegates by Dr. and Mrs. Hardeman

April 23. A visit to the old city of Batavia; an extraordinary meeting of the Society; the promulgation of honour and degrees; a paper on Islamic Law by Prof. Dr. Hoosain Djajadiningrat; and a performance at the theatre of Javanese dances known as "wireng."

- April 24. A general meeting of the Society, and address by the President of the Society, Dr. J. van Kan, and congratulatory speeches by His Excellency the Governor-General of the Dutch Indies and the various delegates, followed by a reception and a gala dinner.
- April 25. A visit to the different sections of the Museum with explication by the keepers; a reception to the delegates by Mr. J. Crosby, H. B. M.'s Consul-General at Batavia; an exhibition of ethnographical films at the Museum; and a dinner by the President, Dr. J. van Kan.

The delegates included Dr. C. Boden-Kloss, Director of the Singapore Museum, who read out a letter of congratulation from Sir Hugh Clifford and Capt A. C. Baker on behalf of the R.A.S., Singapore. Your delegate voiced the appreciation of the Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S. on the Royal Society's attaining the 150th anniversary of its foundation, and expressed a due sense of appreciation of the privilege of being present at the celebrations in honour of the event. H.E. the Governor-General to whom the delegates were presented was present at the performance of Javanese dancing on the 23rd, and at the commemoration ceremony and gala dinner on the 24th.

On the 26th the foreign delegates including all the British delegates left by train for mid-Java in order to visit the ruins of Borobuddur and Prambanan and to witness further exhibitions of Javanese dancing at the "Kratons" or palaces of the Sultans of Djokja and Solo. We were accompanied as cicerones by Dr. P. V. van Stein Callonfels, acting Director of Archaeology and Prof. Dr. B. Schrieke of the Law College, a recognised authority on Javanese music and dancing. Leaving Weltevreden at 7 A.M. on the 26th we arrived late in the afternoon at the station of Djokja and left almost immediately by car for Borobuddur where we arrived after dark. It was a bright moonlight night and the sight of the vast structure of the ruined temple with part of it lit up by the moon and the rest in mysterious shadow can never be forgotten. Borobuddur is a gigantic stupa nearly 200 ft. high, square at the base and rising by a series of terraces enclosed by sculptured galleries to a single bell-shaped stupa at the summit. Each side at the base measures 531 ft. and the sculptures set end to end would measure $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Four flights of steps converge at the summit. The building is placed by archaeologists between 742 and 755 A.D., and although described as a Hindu monument is essentially a Buddhist structure, its most striking features amidst grotesque guardian images and gargoyles being beautiful sedent life-size statues of Buddha in his four characteristic postures and the bell-shaped stupas. The bas-reliefs which crowd the galleries are also, according to Dr. Callenfels eloquent explication, mostly stories from the Jatakas. The monument has been completely excavated and the work of reconstruction is also complete.

After spending the next day at Borobuddur we returned to Djokja and were given an exhibition of Javanese dancing at the Kraton of the Sultan. The Kraton is the palace of establishment of the Sultan of Djokja nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circuit, consisting of the palace proper, the barracks and armoury, the residences of the ladies of the Court, and the "kampongs" of the hereditary smiths, carpenters, sculptors, puppet and musical instrument makers, &c, of His Highness.

The dancing hall surrounded on 3 sides by a courtyard is situated at the entrance to the palace, a wide expanse of marble floor accommodating the numerous orchestra, the actors, and the more favoured amongst the audience, the courtyard being crowded during the performance with an interested throng of men, women and children.

The "piece" appropriately selected for the entertainment was the Indonesian version of the Ramayana, a brilliant finale being provided by Hanuman's tail of Bengal lights which was lit at the finish and reduced Lanka to ashes. The effects of the conflagration and the resultant confusion was realistically shown by (seemingly) charred human beings carried in litters, burning leaves, &c, and a riot of noise by the orchestra. The "gamelan" or orchestra composed of wind, string and percussion instruments—mostly of the latter—bewildered one at first by the din of the gongs of varied pitch and the strange tone-world to which it introduced us, but the effect was certainly inspiring when it introduced fortissimo a stirring episode in the rather long drawn-out drama.

The next day we inspected the purely Hindu ruins of Prambanan situated 3 or 4 hours by motor from Djokja. The ruins consisting chiefly of temples and monasteries are the centre of the excavation and restoration activities of the Dutch authorities. The most important of the ruins are the 6 larger temples with the Siva temple and group in the centre which are being restored under the supervision of Dr. de Haan, who explained that the blocks of some of the temples had been carried away a distance of nearly 200 yards by the force of earthquakes. The blocks are now being sorted out, assembled and placed in position, the motif of the sculpture being often the only means of identifying the blocks. The temples are all splendid specimens of Hindu architecture dating it is supposed from the 12 and 13th centuries A.D. We left the next day for Solo where we were lavishly entertained by the Prince and Sultan of Solo at the expositions of Javanese dancing provided for the delegates, the variations from the dancing already witnessed being the more popular dances in which the dancers wore masks hundreds of years old representing characters in the mythology and folklore of Indonesia, and the celebrated "wayang" or puppet-dance where the chief actor dexterously waved figures of gilded leather before a screen, the shadows cast by a lamp held behind him representing the warriors and demons of the Bharata Yuddhs.

The delegates parted company at Solo, some of them going on to Bali an island on the East coast of Java and the other returning to Weltevreden by different routes. Your delegate sailed from Batavia on May 2nd and arrived on the 10th.

Whilst at Batavia I visited the Archives and was given every facility in going over the Ceylon documents by the Archivist Dr. Godee-Molsbergen and his Assistants. All that remains now of we might suppose the voluminous correspondence, reports, copies of Council Proceedings &c., sent from Ceylon to the Centrum of the Dutch Indian Empire has been weeded down to less than 200 volumes and "bundles," which contain chiefly copies of treaties between the Dutch and the Sinhalese and the Dutch and the Portuguese papers relating to religious matters, and most important of all a voluminous report of 288 pages on conditions in Ceylon prior to the compilation of the Revised Thombo. Reference is also made in the report to the various castes of the Island, the ancient system of land tenure and the services exacted from the people, &c, and, also given the definitions of various, chiefly agricultural, terms which are no longer used or whose meaning is now obscure. Another important document is the original of the treaty of Feb. 14, 1766, between the Dutch and Kirti Sri Raja Sinha. It is a most elaborate document on parchment with gilt edges, written in Sinhalese and Dutch and signed by the King and his ministers and the Dutch Governor and his Council. The cost of making a facsimile copy was I ascertained from the Dutch authorities, between 11 and 12 hundred guilders. The Government has already obtained copies of the more

important documents including the report referred to, the earliest treaty extant dated April 13, 1610, between Carolus de Lannoye on behalf of the Dutch and King Senerat, the Portuguese text of Westervold's treaty of May 23, 1638, and some later papers relating to the transfer of Colombo to the British in 1796.

One of the most interesting departments in the Archives, which is housed in the old Town Hall of the Company's times, is the museum of colonial exhibits displayed in the Company's Hall. It contains the old furniture of the room with several other additions, old prints, maps, and weapons, whose combined effect induces the atmosphere, one might suppose, for a due appreciation of the records preserved.

The thanks of the Society are due to H. E. the Governor-General of the Dutch Indies, Jonkheer de Graeff, the Patron of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Letters, and to Dr. van Kan, the President of the Society and its Council for the entertainment and the travelling facilities provided. My thanks are specially due to Drs. Callenfels and Schrieke for the pleasant and instructive time spent in Mid-Java, and to the Secretary, Mr. P. Gediking for his courtesy and unremitting attention during my stay at Batavia.

3. The Chairman introduced the speaker Mr. A. M. Hocart, who delivered a lecture on "the Methods of Excavation" illustrated with lantern slides.

4. Prof R. Marrs, Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, Dr. P. E. Pieris and the Chairman offered remarks.

5. Mr. A. M. Hocart replied.

6. The chairman, seconded by Dr. A. Nell moved a vote of thanks to Mr. E. Reimers and Mr. A. M. Hocart.

7. A vote of thanks to the chair proposed by Dr. P. E. Pieris was carried with acclamation.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 26, 1928.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G.,
President (in the chair).

Dr. P. E. Pieris Litt D., C.C.S., Vice-President

The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva

Mr. Herod Gunaratna,
MudaliyarMr. W. F. Gunawardhana,
Gate MudaliyarDr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A.,
Ph.D.

Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,
Honorary Secretaries.*Business :*

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 17th February, 1928, was read and confirmed.

2. The papers, which had been circulated in connection with an application from the Malay Political Association for financial assistance towards the publication of Malayan literature in Ceylon in Romanized Malay, were laid on the table.

3. The question of advertising Meetings was considered. It was resolved that a notification re meetings of the Society should be made in the newspapers as an ordinary item of news insted of incurring the expense of advertisements in the press.

4. The suggestion made by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera that the Society should purchase copies of the "Antiquary" consisting of 47 Volumes offered for sale for £6. 10s. by John Grant, Bookseller, was considered. It was decided that these 47 volumes be purchased.

5. Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala's paper entitled. "The Lizard-like Reptiles of Ceylon" was tabled.

It was decided that the paper be accepted for reading and that it be referred to a sub-Committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. W. E. Wait and Dr. S. C. Paul for their views as to whether it should be accepted for publication.

6. The question of increase of Government Grant to the Society's Library was discussed.

It was resolved that funds for special purposes, such as binding, etc. might be asked for instead of a permanent increase to the grant.

7. A paper entitled "Pre Buddhist Religious Beliefs in Ceylon" by Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner was laid on the table.

Resolved that the paper be referred to a sub-Committee consisting of Dr. G. P. Malalasekara and the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva.

8. The question as to whether an extra number of its journal be brought out next year to include to "Rādavali" and for the Male and Fua Mulaku vocabularies was discussed.

Resolved that Mr. Collins be requested to obtain a note on the subject from Mr. Bell.

9. The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society, viz:—The Hon. Mr. M. J. Cary, Messrs. Dr. G. Scarpa, Messrs. W. Austin Fernando, J. S. A. Fernando, D. S. Wijayamanna, J. D. de Lanerolle,

M. P. L. S. Fernando, J. C. Ratwatte, T. Sugatapala, Rev. W. Sri Wijayananda Thero, Rev. Pandit K. Sri Piyaratana Thero, Messrs. C. L. Wickramasinghe, C. Arumugam, S. P. Jayasinha, M. S. A. Hydari, E. T. Dyson, M. T. Archibald, P. Saravanamuttu, C. E. de Pinto, C. W. Bickmore, K. Somasundharam, S. Phillipson, R. Aluvihara, The Hon. Mr. L. Macrae, and Mr. V. P. Redlich.

10. The question of preparation of a programme of meetings for 1929, and if a programme was decided upon at what intervals these meetings should be held, was discussed.

It was decided that meetings be held in the months of January, February, May, June, July, October and November, and that all other details be left in the hands of the Honorary Secretaries.

11. A letter dated 20th September, 1928, from Dr. A. Nell regarding the necessity of a register of places of antiquarian or archaeological interest, was read.

The President informed the meeting that Sir John Marshall would be visiting Ceylon and suggested that Dr. Nell's motion should stand over till such time. Agreed.

12. Dr. P. E. Pieris stated that Fräulein Fitzler had sent a paper on "Fernaõ de Queyroz."

Resolved that the paper be referred to a sub-Committee consisting of Dr. Peiris and Mr. Collins for favour of their views.

13. Decided that a corrected list of effective Members be published annually in the journal in future.

14. The proof of the Society's journal for 1927 was laid on the table.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 26, 1928.

Present :

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G.,
Patron (in the chair).

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., President.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. J. W. de Alwis
Mr. R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala,
B.A.

Mr. J. D. Dharmasena
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva

Mr. A. P. Goonaratna

Mr. Thos. Gracie

Mr. Herod Gunaratna,
Mudaliyar

Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,
Gate Mudaliyar

Mr. G. E. Harding, B.A., (Lond).

Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi

Mr. A. E. Jayasinha

Mr. C. M. Kumarasinha
Dr. G. P. Malalasekara M.A.,
Ph.D., (Lond).

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera

Mr. A. B. Rajendra

Dr. Emmanuel Roberts

Rev. R. Siddharttha Thero M.A.
(Cal.)

Mr. B. L. Sarnelis Silva

Mr. C. Suppramaniam

Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha

Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,
Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors : 1 lady and 4 gentlemen.

Business :

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 28th July, 1928, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva who read the following paper entitled "A contribution to the Study of Economic and Social Organization in Ceylon in Early Times."

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN CEYLON IN EARLY TIMES.

BY

THE HON. MR. W. A. DE SILVA.

I do not propose to give any comprehensive account of the Economic and Social Organisation in Ceylon in early times in this paper. The paper will be a note giving particulars of life and customs and institutions of the Sinhalese derived from narratives and stories given in one particular book, out of a large number of Sinhalese and Pali books of Ceylon. No comparisons will be made nor inferences discussed. The notes given here are expected to form a contribution to the study of the subject and are meant to stimulate students to gather information of scientific value from the large store of available Sinhalese literature, which has not received the attention the subject deserves. The best method to stimulate this study is the collection of material whenever opportunity occurs, so that eventually such material may be at the disposal of research students. For the purpose of this paper the Sinhalese work *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* has been selected. The printed edition of *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* consists of 759 pages royal octavo and is divided into twenty-four chapters. The author is Dhammakirti Maha Thera who lived in the reigns of Bhuvaneka Bāhu V and Vira Bahu II at Gaḍalādeni Vihare near Kandy about A.C. 1371-1410. He came in pupillary succession to two noted Sangha Raja bearing the same name first of Dharmakirti of the fraternity of Buddhist monks of Puṭabhattasela Monastery and second of Dharmakirti the Sangharaja, author of *Pāramimāhā Sataka*. Among other works attributed to the author of *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* are *Jinabodhavalīya Samkhepa*, *Nikāyasangraha*, *Bālāvātāra*, *Gaḍalādeny Sannaya* and *Saddhamma Sangraha*.

Saddharmālaṅkāraya is a Sinhalese adaptation of the Pali work *Rasavāhini* compiled by Védēha Mahā Thera who lived in the thirteenth century. However the Sinhalese work is not a mere translation. Its first three chapters have no place in the Pali work. The book contains 144 stories, of which 103 deal with incidents connected with Ceylon. Though the stories were put together in book form about the thirteenth century, they are gleaned from earlier works and tradition and deal with a period of about four hundred years from the time of Kākavanna Tissa, father of King Duṭugemunu about 200 B. C. up to about the time of Sirinaga I 196 A.C. The only names of kings of usurpers that occur in the course of the stories are those of Kākavanna Tissa of Ruhuna, Kelani Tissa of Kelaniya, Elāla, Tamil invader of Anurādhapura, Duṭugemunu, the restorer of the kingdom, Saddhātissa, his brother and successor, Laggi Tissa, son of Saddhātissa and Sirināga, a Brahman who usurped the throne of Anurādhapura. A number of stories mention the period of *Beminitisaya* or the great famine that occurred in the first century of the Christian Era. No story deals with any period anterior to Kāvantissa or to any subsequent period than that of Sirināga. Localities in which the stories are laid consist of Ruhuna District and the District comprising Anurādhapura which extended south-west to Deduruoya and Kelaniya, West to Mannar and East to the mouth of Mahaveliganga (Trincomalee) and North to the Country comprising Nāgadīpa (Jaffna) and the seaports there. Well-defined routes and roads are mentioned from Magama along Mahaveliganga to Anuradhapura and to Nāgadīpa (Jaffna) and to Māvatutōṭa, (Mannar); also to Samanala (Adam's Peak) and to Kelaniya. The hill country is mentioned as wild, uninhabited forest country where people took refuge during wars and famines and lived on forest produce. Three cities are mentioned as the seats of governments, namely, Anurādhapura, Māgama, and Kelaniya. Other places mentioned include Digāmaḍulla, Nāgadīpa, Sumanajanapada (country round Adam's Peak), Girivādanuwa, Situlpavuva, Māvatutōṭa, Muhunnuwara, Mahanāgavela, Midellavanaya, Viriyambuva, Vijita, Mungama, Pungalāva, Sīgiriya, Mahi-

tale, Udakula, Kapkandura, Sulugala, Netulvitya, Malvatumadulla, Ruvakevita, Talaguna, Malvessa, Selunnaruwa, Mundavaka, Kumbukkana, Tasambantota, Kotahala, Giritimbala, Miuguna, Maluyangana, Dandagona.

Political divisions that existed consisted of *Rājadhāni*, districts under the immediate supervision of the kings, *janapada*, districts under chiefs, *Nagara*, cities, *Paṭṭanugam*, seaport town, *Gam*, Village Communities with heads of villages. *Batgam* villages were granted by the king to individuals for special services or as special marks of honour, *Ayagam* villages paid taxes to the king, *Gopalugam* villages were occupied by herdsmen. There were also *anabim*, pasture grounds, *Daḍabim*, game preserves, *Vanantara*, forests. Fortified places were defended with an outside dry canal, a canal filled with mud, next a canal filled with water, then a rampart with iron doors, and on the top of the rampart various forms of terraces, bastions and covers.

Absolute power was vested in the king, but this power appears to have been circumscribed by well-defined usage. The king unless during a war or rebellion does not appear to give orders and commands. His status was that of the Head of the State, and the work of administration was carried out by ministers and officers appointed by him. The King's son or a brother was usually appointed by him as *Yuva Raja* or Viceroy. During Kāvāntissa's time, his eldest son Duṭṭugemunu left him and lived in Kotmale as the father did not approve his intention to wage war with the Tamil usurper at Anurādhapura. During this time his younger brother has been appointed *Yuva Raja* and was placed in charge of the District surrounding Digāmadulla. King Duṭṭugemunu appointed his son Prince Sāli as *Yuva Raja* who lived in the capital and collected the taxes and dues at Anurādhapura and he had palaces built for him, first at the south gate of the city and then at the west, then north and finally at the east gate. All revenue from dues on goods entering the city were collected by him. He fell in love with a girl who was a commoner and married her against the wishes of his royal father and abdicated his claim to succeed to the kingdom.

The King had the usual complement of ministers. The treasurer of the King is frequently mentioned in the stories, and his masters of ceremonies as men learned in ceremonies and interpretation of events. The King's army during this time was commanded by himself and under him the princes were his deputies. Kāvantissa was the head of his military establishment and his son Duṭugemunu acted only as an assistant under him. Though Duṭugemunu wished to lead an expedition against the Tamils who were occupying Anurādhapura, Kāvantissa did not give him the permission to do so, resulting in the young Prince retiring from the Court. It was only after the death of his father, that he gained supreme command, when he was able to lead his expedition. The army of the King consisted of divisions of elephants, horses, chariots, foot soldiers. But chariots are not mentioned as forming a part in Duṭugemunu's expedition; as for elephants, the only elephant mentioned is Kandula the King's elephant as taking part in the War. Horses are mentioned as forming an important part of the army and Nirmala was the General in charge of horses and is mentioned as an expert rider and one who was well versed in that branch of science. As for foot soldiers, they were arranged in definite units under expert commanders. The primary unit consisted of ten under a leader, and ten of such units under an officer and again ten of such groups in charge of a superior officer and again ten such divisions under a Commander. The soldiers were armed with swords, lances, javelins, hendivala (crooked javelins) chandravakra (curved discs) and bows and arrows of various shapes; for defensive purposes, they used *palisa*, head shields, *palanga*, large body shields, *patiram* screens. Coats of mail are also mentioned. The heavy offensive weapons mentioned include *yaturudunu*, arrow-throwing machines, and *pasanayawata*, stone-throwing machines, in addition molten metal and melting resin were used in the offensive. The art and science of archery included proficiency in *sabdavediya*, marksmanship from sound, *valavediya*, marksmanship through clouds, *vijjuvediya* with the aid of lightning, also *seravediya*. *seraraijjukavediya*, *serapushkaraneeya*, *seraprasadaya*, and shooting through carts filled

with sand, through a hundred fold of hide, through eight-inch planks, and twelve-inch thick planks, through six-inch iron and copper plates, shooting through water, &c.

Immediately under the king were employed *rājapurusha* or king's officers for civil work. Their main duties comprised in collecting the king's revenue from various districts and making reports to the king on the state of affairs in such districts as to whether the chiefs of divisions or heads of villages were carrying out their duties properly for promoting the welfare of the people. These *rājapurusha* having direct communication with the king wielded great influence. When they visited any district they were received with great honours.

There is the story of a village peasant, Munḍaguttakaya, who acquired a cow giving large quantities of milk and who was able to entertain bhikkhus in the village lavishly. A king's officer who lived in the district learning that the villager had this cow, frightened him by telling him, that he will confiscate the cow and take it to the king and levied blackmail on that pretence. The villager agreed to give a quantity of ghee daily for the use of the king's officer in order to obtain his silence. When the officer left the village on duty the peasant ceased supplying the ghee to the officer's household and on his return he got displeased at the lapse of the peasant and forthwith informed the king that there was an extraordinary cow in the district which should be added to the king's herd. The king, however, was not willing to receive a single cow but informed the officer that he could levy a herd of one hundred cows from his district and send them to the king's farm. The peasant's cow was taken away, but he and his wife went to the Capital and appealed to the king in person, who finding the trick played on them degraded the officer and restored the property to the peasant with additional presents and appointed him king's officer. There is the story of a king's officer, a good man this time who visited Kotahala, he was received by the people with customary ceremonies and was provided with special lodgings and feasted with ghee rice and a variety of curries. Another reception to a king's officer is mentioned. This officer visited

Muglayin district. The people in the village received him and his attendants with hospitality and gave them much toddy for drinking till they all got drunk. There is again a story of a king's officer who went to the seaport town of Mavātupatuna to collect revenue. On learning of his proposed visit the inhabitants cleaned the streets and decorated the route with flags, flowers and arches and went to receive him and conducted him to a specially prepared house.

There is also mention of small divisions ruled by feudal chiefs who ruled in their own rights. These are given as *Kandayura*, or defined camps, Sulunnaruwa is mentioned as one of these under a chief who was succeeded by his son and who possessed much wealth in his own right. There is mention of another semi independent chief in the Ruhuna district, who sent to the king on one occasion as presents five hundred carts filled with highly prized red scented rice, five hundred carts loaded with black beans, five hundred carts filled with brown beans, five hundred carts filled with black gram, and five hundred carts filled with green gram.

The local affairs of each village were managed independently of the Central Government. The elders of the village managed these in accordance with their customs.

The king was the absolute owner of all elephants found in the country, all treasure troves were his by right, all gold, silver, copper and precious stones were king's property, wherever they were found and all goods salvaged from wrecked ships were his by right. The king also had the right to a tithe from each village where he had not given it to the village itself in recognition of some special service, or endowed temples or given as presents. These were known as free villages, Vihare villages and batgam or ayagam villages. Donations were assigned in three ways; by a writing, by king's mere command, and by a ceremonial handing over by the pouring of water on the hands of the donee; the last is known as Brahmadeyya, and was considered as a special honour.

At this period the races who lived in the Island other than the Sinhalese are mentioned as Naga, Yaksha, Vēdi and Damila. A few of the Naga race lived in the Kelaniya district in the west and Jaffna district in the north, but no

large settlements of Nāga are mentioned. Yaksha is used both for evil spirits and the early aborigines and the Yaksha race was not very prominent about this time. A Yaksha Chief, Jayasena, and his followers are mentioned in connection with a dispute and a public fight he had with Goṭaimbara, one of King Duṭugemunu's retired Generals, who lived at Anurādhapura. Vēdi are mentioned as aborigines who lived in the forests away from the villages and Dāmila are mentioned as invaders who were expelled from time to time by the Sinhalese Kings.

Among the Sinhalese there does not appear to have been any castes or divisions. Brahmins are mentioned as living apart in their own villages and were more or less counted as foreign to the Sinhalese. The members of the royal families were held in a class by themselves and those of such families who aspired to the kingdom had to marry a member of a royal family or at least from a Brahmin family. The rest of the people were Grahapati (those having settled abodes). The Čaṇḍāla (despised), were those without a fixed abode, they were despised on account of being tramps and vagrants with no fixed residence. In some cases the word Čaṇḍāla was used in a self deprecatory manner in order to indicate unworthiness. There is the instance of Prince Sāli who fell in love with a village artisan's daughter Devi (Asoka Malla), she in addressing the Prince said that she was a Čaṇḍālī as she did not belong to a family from which a member of the royal family is allowed to marry. So the two divisions merely appear to be those who had a fixed abode and those who had no fixed abode. There was at this time no special division for trades or occupations, for in general a householder or members of a family were expected to engage themselves in one of the three occupations, viz :—as traders, as artisans or as cultivators.

Prince Dīghābhaya when appointed as Governor of Kasātoṭa required attendants and asked each chief family of a village to send one of their sons for service and sent a messenger to Sangha, the elder of a village. The elder called together his seven sons. The eldest six asked him to send the youngest to the king's service as he was idling

his time at home without engaging in any work. "We six are engaged in such occupations as trade, industries and cultivation and work hard at our occupations." Again, in another story, the father, a chief of a village, addressing his daughter regarding her husband tells her that her husband was living in idleness, and like her brothers should engage himself in an occupation such as cultivation, industry or commerce. Thus it appears all trades were common, the same family engaged in work as artisans, tradesmen and cultivators without any distinction.

The religion of the Sinhalese during this period is purely and entirely Buddhist and the stories indicate much practical activity in religious affairs, both in endowment and maintenance of religious institutions and the practice of religious principles. The orders of Monks and Nuns flourished during the period, a very large number of men and women entered the religious orders. Some of the Vihares had thousands residing in them. There were also large numbers who were practising meditations in forests and rock caves. They were well supported by the laity. There were four classes of monks: samanera, (the novices) bhikkus (fully ordained), sthavira (elders), maha sthavira (chief elders). There are no Sangarājas mentioned in any of the stories and no interference by kings or ministers in appointments or of giving ranks to monks, or giving them power over others. The affairs of the Sangha were managed by themselves under well-established rules of the Vinaya. There appears to have been large numbers of monks who had attained to the state of Rahats *i.e.*, those who had gained emancipation. In addition practically every man or woman was an Upāsaka or Upāsika, devotees who regularly performed their religious duties. The monks lived in their vihares during the rainy season and at other seasons travelled far and wide in the country, visiting villages, other vihares, and as pilgrims worshipping at shrines. Both laymen and monks are frequently mentioned as going on pilgrimages to Gaya in India to worship at the Sacred Bodhi-Tree there. These parties of pilgrims sometimes crossed over to Southern India and walked all the way to Gaya, taking about six months

on the journey, sometimes they go by sea and land at Tamra-
lipti at the mouth of the Ganges and reach Gaya in half the
time. The monks learnt the Dhamma and most of them had
practised committing Pitakas to memory and preserving
the tradition by continual repetition. The monks were the
instructors of the people. This was practically a duty ; the
dharma was expounded individually on every occasion
and preachings to congregations were also held from time
to time. There is the mention of the periodical expounding
of the Dhamma at a temple. Each temple in a district
sometimes took a turn once a year to preach Āryawaṇṣa
sūtra which was continued each time for seven days ; the
gatherings on these occasions appear to be very large as in
instances mentioned it is said that the crowds were so great
that large numbers usually had to stand outside the hall for
whole nights and listen to the Dharma, the audience included
monks and laity both men and women. There is also men-
tion of discourses by lay preachers well versed in the Dhamma
employed by the king at halls of preaching. There is the
instance of Akirti Pandita preaching in the presence of the
king himself, where he was able to pay the king due obsequence
by selecting a particular text for his discourse.

It is not clearly stated whether Brahmins who lived
in Brahman villages practised their own religion. Mention
is made of sannysis or yogis who practised asceticism and
sometimes lived in cemeteries scantily clad, with bodies
covered with ashes and as the story says pretending to be
saints, while at the same time they led sinful lives. There is
no mention of Brahman temples or places of worship.
There is mention of a temple dedicated to the City God
at the entrance to the city of Anurādhapura known as
Puradevīkovila.

Women have held a very high status in society during
this period. Practically in every story the position of women
shows no distinction from that of men. They freely take
part in every activity of life and their influence is well marked.
Their character is depicted in most favourable terms, gentle,
courteous and good-natured, hospitable, tender and intelli-
gent, ever ready to help others, to preserve the honour of

their families, devoted to religion and country with untrammelled freedom of action. The position of women is further seen from the fact that monogamy was a definite institution. There is no mention of any other form of marriage. Women had freedom in choosing their husbands. Sumanā, the pious lady of Anurādhapura, fell in love with a visitor from Ruhuna, a stranger and married him without any consultation with her people. Two girls who were bathing in a river saw a floating plank and they decided that the one who saw the plank first should have it and the other should have anything that was on the plank. It happened that a young man Tissa had floated down on the plank. One of the girls tore a piece of her cloth and threw it to him and he was taken ashore thus dressed and taken to her parents' house. The parents consented to marry the girl to him. Prince Sāli fell in love with the village maiden Devi, afterwards known as Asoka Malla, when she was plucking flowers and after inquiring from her and finding out that she was not a married woman, married her. Sanghadatta, the minister of the king when he was resting at a pavilion on the bund of Tisāveva, saw a maiden who was travelling in the company of her six brothers, he sent one of his attendants to inquire from her whether she was a married woman and finding that she was single, proposed marriage to her and on her accepting, the brothers approved of her marriage to the minister. In every story where women and marriage are concerned, there were certain customs that are apparent. In the first place a suitor invariably inquires personally from a woman whether she was married or unmarried, if unmarried the woman's consent to marriage was sought from her direct and the parents and relatives agree to the marriage without demur. Once married, they set up a separate house and did not live with the parents of either. Women were as educated as men, they too, learned the various arts and sciences, they attended to religious worship and to hear the Dhamma freely without any restriction. Among other accomplishments the art of cookery was held in high repute and every girl from that of princess to a commoner was taught this art. The housewife or the daughter received guests

and entertained them ; the food was served to the guests by them personally. The milking of cows and the preparation of ghee were always in the hands of the women of the household. Women took part in outdoor occupations. They were good riders where horses were kept and were good swimmers.

In the villages in addition to the resident houses there was a guest house with seats and sometimes a meeting house in addition. Many of the houses mentioned are more than one storey usually two with a terrace on the top. In the cities of Anurādhapura and Māgama whole streets with two and three-storied houses are mentioned. Even in small towns wealthy merchants occupied houses of two and three storeys with terraced roofs. The forms of houses apart from those built for places of worship, consisted of *māligā* (palaces for kings and princes) ; *mandira* occupied by chiefs of districts and residents, both in the country and in the cities who possessed wealth ; *uḍumahal*, storied houses in cities, towns and villages and *bimmahal*, ground floor houses. There were *bojana sālā*, guest houses in the villages, *āsana sālā*, for common assemblies furnished with seats, *venī sālā*, recreation halls and *maṇḍapa*, pavilions. Furniture in houses consisted of *āsana*, seats which may be raised and covered with carpets and cloth. *yahana*, beds ; *kuruyahana*, low beds ; and coverings for beds, chairs and seats consisting of *telisam*, smooth soft leather, *pidagam*, cushions and *etirili*, spreads of various kinds. There were many forms of lamps and lights and *yantrapahan* (lamp clusters perhaps with revolving arrangements). Household utensils consisted of cooking pots, small vessels, large vessels, drinking vessels and plates. These were made in earthenware or in metal, including gold. A variety of food and preparations have been in use at this time. During famines when people were not able to obtain grain they lived on roots and leaves found in the forests. *Kaṭuvala*, (*Dioscorea*,) is mentioned as the principal variety of root thus used and the leaves of the *kara* tree (*canthium*) are mentioned as the best sought for leaf. Rice formed the principal article of diet, and that grown on high land *elvi* was the most prized and of this

the principal variety was *suwanda ratel*, scented red rice. Rice grown on mud land was considered to be inferior. Other articles of diet included vegetables, fine grain, various kinds of beans and grams, fruits, ghee, curd, honey and sugar from sugar-cane; fish, fowl, peacock flesh, hare, venison and boars' flesh. The art of cookery was well understood. Rice was prepared in various ways, rice gruel, plain boiled rice, rice boiled in milk, rice and ghee, sweets made with honey and rice flour, cakes made of rice flour fried in ghee. Peacocks' flesh fried in scented ghee, boars' flesh cooked with the addition of honey or jaggery. Various kinds of flesh cooked in five different ways and varieties of sweets and a number of curries and soups from vegetables. Mention is made of medicines and medicated gruels, of physicians and hospitals for the sick and convalescent homes for those recovering from illness and *kumbalgeya* or maternity wards in villages and towns.

As regards dress, women usually wore cloths draped, covering their bodies, men are mentioned as using cloths and shawls. Various ornaments and jewellery are mentioned *kundalābarana*, ear ornaments were worn, both by men and women, and the following are the names of some of the jewellery worn by women:—ekawela (neck chains), hanhu (necklaces), katisutra (waist ornaments), ruwantanapaṭa (golden bands worn across the body covering the breasts), tisarapaṭa (head bands), anklets, rings, bangles, etc.

Hair was dressed in various ways. In the case of men they wore their hair cropped behind. For instance when Nirmala was appointed one of King Dutugemunu's officers he had his hair cropped, his beard shaved and was dressed in two silk cloths, was decked with garlands of flowers and his head was wrapped in a turban of fine cloth. Women wore their hair knotted behind sometimes plaited. Men and women wore flowers on festive days.

Slaves are not mentioned, men-servants and women-servants were employed, but appear to have been treated as equals in the families where they were employed. There is frequent mention of another custom which must have been a common practice. Where one desired to borrow

money, he or a member of his family mortgages his person to the debtor and works for him till the debt is paid. Nāga, a pious woman, had borrowed sixty pieces of gold by engaging to work for a family at Nāgadīpa. She desired to offer food to monks and borrowed from the master of the house another sixty pieces, agreeing to serve his household, both during day and night, and it is said that the purport of the agreement was entered in writing. There is the instance where a man borrowed eight pieces of gold by pledging his daughter to work for the debtor; and in another story a man and a woman borrowed eight pieces of gold by pledging the services of their son in order to enable them to buy a cow. Hired labour seems to have been scarce; cultivation was carried on by the labour of the members of a family and their household servants. The only time that one who desired to get hire for labour could do so was when crops were plentiful and harvesting required more hands than the householder could command. There are other instances mentioned where a man earned money by working at a sugar mill, where he helped in turning the machines to express the juice of the sugar cane.

There was a fair amount of export and import trade. Brahmans were engaged in importing rare goods for sale to the rich. For instance Kundala Brahman had obtained from abroad and supplied sandalwood, scents, musk, camphor and silk cloth. There were merchants who owned ships and traded regularly with foreign countries. The merchant Nāndiya of Māvatutōṭa had a fleet of ships and each voyage took him three years before he returned home. There were traders who travelled from village to village, selling articles of luxury. These men were welcomed as guests and wherever they went they were well treated and entertained. Some of the articles they sold were scents and cosmetics and face powders beloved by the ladies. Face powder was golden coloured powder of siriya or yellow mercury sulphide. The money used were masu and kahavanu. When travelling they rode on horses, carriages drawn by horses, carts drawn by bulls and yahana or sedan chairs. More often people walked long distances, a traveller usually carried

with him an umbrella, a stick, a vessel for liquids and a sack made of cloth. They also carried their cooked rice well pressed down in a bag of rush or leaves, *Batmula*.

Liquid or dry measure was a *neliya* or seer and there is mention of *magada neliya*. The measures of length were *angula* (inch), *riyana* (cubit), *isba*, *gavuva*, and *yojana*.

Feasts and festivals were very common. There was *nekatkeliya*, new year festival which lasted seven days, when from the king to the poorest peasant spent the days in game, feasting and enjoyment. Harvest festivals were regularly held at sowing and reaping times and were given by the chief landowners, on such occasions men and women came in their best attire and helped the landowner to sow or reap, music, singing and feasting were a feature of these festivals. Household feasts are mentioned in regard to children in their third month, the festival of piercing the ears, seventh month the feeding of rice and in the ninth month the cropping of hair. At the age of five years a child was first made to learn letters, in the words of the book. "During this time the people in Ceylon decked their children when five years old in gold and ornaments and clothes according to their means and held great festivities in first introducing them to the learning of letters." No feasts are mentioned in connection with the celebration of marriages. There is mention of special feasts and receptions. One such given by *Goṭaimbara*, a retired General of King *Duṭugemunu* who lived in *Anurādhapura*, is worth quoting. "This General at a later period built a three storied house within the City of *Anurādhapura* and on one occasion he put up an ornamental pavilion on the terrace of the top of the house with a ceiling of white cloth and sides decorated with various ornamental silk cloth, hung with garlands of scented flowers, with white sand spread on the floor over which was strewn scented flowers of jasmine and champac, and vases filled with fruits and flowers were placed in various positions. He decked himself in silks and ornaments and took his position on a well-placed decorated seat, his wife dressed in numerous gold ornaments, silks and jewellery, stood on his right with a vessel filled with toddy; they were surrounded by hundreds

of women richly attired like unto fairies of the heavens and with others holding bouquets of flowers, vases filled with flowers and ornamental floral designs. There were singers, dancers and musicians, who were ordered to play music, dance and sing. A feast was furnished with all kinds of dainty food and vessels filled with toddy, and they started drinking toddy and enjoying themselves. At this feast Goṭaimbara had a disagreement with Jayasena, a Yakka Chief who came to the feast and as a result a public duel was fought seven days afterwards in the open fields in the presence of a large gathering in which Goṭaimbara vanquished his rival; more feasting was ordered to celebrate the victory and when with a noisy crowd he sought admission to the King's presence, the King rebuked him by sending a message to him that the King did not wish a drunken man in his presence. When Goṭaimbara became sober he was so struck with remorse and shame and reflecting on the vanity of life and that all his victories in war and his fame were of no lasting pleasure, he gave up his wealth and position and luxurious life and retired to a Monastery in South India, and after obtaining ordination engaged in religious meditation under the instructions of a great arahat and attained to sainthood. The following is given as his *Udana* or song of triumph on that occasion:—

Sangama Sondo parasattu maddana

Suroca viro balava parabhibhu

Ruddassa Yakkhassa siran vinasayin

Kilesa sisanca tato vinasayin.

(I have been) a fearless fighter, subdued enemies.

Was ever valiant and resourceful; overpowered great foes.

Fierce Yakshas' heads I have destroyed.

To-day my roots of passion are destroyed. (This is my Victory.)

This *Udana* depicts the essence of the character of the people at the time, as men they were ever active, but underlying all, religious ideal held its supreme place.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 26th, 1928.

Present :

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G.,
Patron (in the chair.)

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., President

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. K. K. Anthonisz

Mr. J. C. De

The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton

Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.

Mr. R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala,
B.A.

Mr. W. D. De Zoysa

Mr. H. Gunaratna, Mudaliyar

Mr. A. E. Jayasinha

Mr. S. B. Kuruppu

Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere,

Maha Mudaliyar

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.

Mr. Edmund Reimers

The Hon. Sir G. S. Schneider

Mr. B. L. Sarnelis Silva

Mr. F. A. Tissaverasingha and

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman

Honorary Secretary.

Visitors : 15 ladies 26 gentlemen.

Business :

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 26th September, 1928, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Dr. Joseph Pearson who delivered a lecture, illustrated with lantern slides, on "European Furniture in Ceylon in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries."

EUROPEAN CHAIRS IN CEYLON IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.¹

By

JOSEPH PEARSON, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S.,

Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, (Ceylon Branch).

In the present paper it is proposed to trace the evolution of the types of chairs which were introduced into Ceylon during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If we were to limit our study to Ceylon furniture only we should find it difficult to find a logical sequence of styles. There are many breaks in the chain due to causes which are dis-

¹ This paper is an elaborations of a poration of the lecture on "European Furniture in Ceylon in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries."

cussed below, but in cases where the sequence is obscured we are justified in calling upon evidence from Europe and from other Dutch Settlements in the East Indies and elsewhere. Generally speaking the styles resembled those prevalent in Europe at the time, but it is doubtful whether a chair made in Ceylon in a particular style was made during the same "period" as similar chairs in Europe. In fact it is reasonable to suppose that new styles of furniture established themselves in Ceylon considerably later than the date of their first appearance in Europe. Means of communication were slow and opportunities of sending out furniture were probably rare. Further, the conditions of life under which men lived in the various settlements in the East were probably very rigorous and not conducive, at any rate in the seventeenth century, to the development of a love for the elaborate and beautiful furniture which in Europe was rapidly replacing the austere and plain furniture of earlier years. Therefore, we are confronted at the outset with the difficult problem of determining the approximate dates of furniture made in the East. In the absence of authentic history one is hardly justified in assigning a definite date to any piece of furniture made in Ceylon and all that one can be certain of is the European "period" to which the furniture belongs. In the present paper, therefore, although dates are given to many of the chairs under discussion it should be understood that, except where otherwise stated, these dates refer to the periods when the various styles were in vogue in Europe. The actual dates of manufacture in Ceylon must certainly have been later than the dates given. In some cases, (e.g. figs. 8 and 9) certain styles became popular and were reproduced long after they had ceased to be fashionable in Europe and in such instances there may be as much as fifty or seventy years difference between the European and Ceylon dates.

It is interesting to note that many types of European period furniture are unknown in Ceylon. For example, the ornately carved chairs which became so popular in Europe towards the end of the seventeenth century are not to be found in Ceylon; similarly the elaborate rococo chairs of

the middle of the eighteenth century are not represented. Two alternative explanations may be offered for this state of affairs. These styles may have been introduced into Ceylon and may have established themselves, but all traces of them may have disappeared owing to the rigorous climatic conditions or to the zeal of foreign collectors or to some other cause. This reason is unsatisfactory as it does not explain what governed the survival of some types of chairs and the elimination of others. An alternative explanation is that certain styles were not suited to the native genius of the Sinhalese carpenters who preferred plain workmanship to the more ornate and elaborate designs. Be that as it may the fact remains that most of the old furniture in Ceylon is comparatively plain in design and is generally rougher and heavier than European pieces of the same period. It is interesting to note that in Java much of the old furniture is ornately carved in Javanese style and the effect generally speaking is not pleasing. In South Africa the seventeenth century furniture is plain but there is a good deal of handsome mid-eighteenth century rococo furniture.

I know of no lacquered furniture in Ceylon. Early in the seventeenth century the Dutch were probably the biggest importers of Chinese lacquered furniture into Europe. Later in the century they used to send out Dutch furniture to China to be decorated, and towards the end of the seventeenth century the European cabinet makers imitated the Chinese lacquer and succeeded in producing many pieces of the highest quality.¹

The absence of lacquered furniture from Ceylon cannot be due to the fact that it was never introduced into the

¹ The lacquer used in China and Japan was a thin varnish made of the sap of a tree and was applied in successive coats. The lac used in Ceylon by the Kandyan is a different substance and is secreted on certain trees by scale insects. It is a resinous substance and is used in Ceylon for the ornamentation of ceremonial staves. Walking sticks are decorated for sale to European visitors. So far as I know lac has never been used in Ceylon for decorating furniture. I had a table decorated with lac by a Kandyan workman but the cost was high and the workman found considerable difficulty in working on a large surface.

Island for we find an occasional reference to Chinese lacquered furniture in the auctioneers inventories of 1723 and 1725.

Another curious omission in Ceylon furniture is marquetry and inlay work. Mr. Leslie de Saram has a very fine long-case clock dated about 1710 which is decorated with inlay work, but this is the only specimen known to me. There are many examples of inlay work done in small boxes but I know of only one or two examples of inlay on larger pieces of furniture.

If we concur in the view that certain styles of chair which were evolved in Europe did not find acceptance in Ceylon we have to discover what styles took their place. In my opinion the chairs shown in figures 8 and 9, which, as we shall see later, have a simple type of ornament peculiar to Ceylon, persisted beyond the period to which they belonged (1670) and I would go so far as to say that they were the popular types of chair from the time when they first appeared until the end of the eighteenth century. These two types are fairly common in Ceylon at the present day and they are almost invariably made of nedun which was probably not used to any extent as a furniture wood before the eighteenth century. These chairs are usually in a well preserved condition which indicates that they were not made in the seventeenth century.

With one or two exceptions all the old furniture which I have seen in Ceylon has been made in the Island with local wood. There can be little doubt that a certain amount of furniture was brought from Holland by Dutch civil servants and others either direct to Ceylon or by way of Java, Amboina or any of the other Settlements of the Company. The authors of "Oud Batavia"¹ state that the old inventories contain references to European furniture and they also point out that when a servant of the Company first went to the East his outfit sometimes contained a few articles

¹ "Oud Batavia," 2 Vols (text) and 1 Vol. (plates) published 1922 in Batavia by the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

of furniture. With this exception, according to "Oud Batavia," only mirrors were imported from Europe in the seventeenth century.

Generally speaking, the type of old furniture seen in Java has characters of its own and the ornamentation and detail are undoubtedly influenced by Javanese conceptions of art. The furniture is frequently overloaded with rough carving and as a rule is inferior to Ceylon furniture which is dignified in style and restrained in motive. Occasionally, however, we come across types which are found in both Java and Ceylon and the outstanding example of this is the type illustrated in figures 4 and 5, the so-called "Indo-Portuguese" furniture. It is not surprising to find instances of furniture of identical design being found in the two countries, for the Company's servants frequently took their household goods with them when they were transferred from one Colony to another.

In dealing with old furniture some people are accustomed to term everything "Dutch," but the influence of the Portuguese in the early seventeenth century and of the British in the nineteenth century should be borne in mind. With regard to the British period there is a good deal of ebony furniture (1810-1830) which is generally called Dutch by the dealers. The nineteenth century was a barren period in the development of furniture in England, France and in Europe generally and the less said about it the better. There is a mistaken impression abroad that the Portuguese left no trace of furniture in Ceylon. It is impossible to say whether there is any original furniture of the Portuguese period still in the Island just as it is equally impossible to say whether there are any actual Dutch pieces of the seventeenth century. But the chairs shown in figures 4 and 5 are in the style of the Portuguese period and there are many settees of this type in Ceylon. There are various pieces of furniture known to me which belong to the middle of the seventeenth century and I am not prepared to say whether they are Portuguese or Dutch.

Undoubtedly the development of European furniture in Ceylon has been affected to a preponderating degree by the influence of the Dutch and it may be of interest to examine the reasons why this was so.

The chief reason was that the period of the Dutch occupation of Ceylon coincided with the "golden age" of furniture development in Europe. In mediaeval times the great houses of European countries were built more with a view to strength than to comfort and such furniture as there was pertained more or less to the architecture of the house and was massive and immovable. Ultimately a less rigorous and austere standard of living asserted itself. The taste for luxury and comfort was manifested in the lighter style of the new houses and a corresponding change in the character of the furniture or "movables" and there followed a period of artistic activity never equalled either before or since in the history of furniture, a period which, as stated above, was synchronous with the Dutch occupation of Ceylon.

Another reason for the preponderance of Dutch furniture in Ceylon is that the Dutch had a genius for transferring to their colonies and settlements the atmosphere of their own country. For example, they adapted the architectural styles of their fatherland to suit the conditions under which they lived in Cape Colony, Ceylon and the Dutch East Indies in general. In Ceylon we have numerous examples of Dutch buildings showing typical Dutch gables, fan-lights and door mouldings. Further, the Dutch were famous for the pride which they took in the interior of their homes. This is abundantly shown in the Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century which emphasized in a remarkable degree the importance with which the interior of the house was regarded, and it is confirmed by the account of travellers in the seventeenth century who spoke with amazement of the inordinate pride which the Dutch *huisvrouw* showed in her furniture and china. We have already seen that the Dutchmen were in the habit of taking with them to the

Dutch colonies and settlements articles of furniture and these doubtless formed the models from which the furniture in their colonial homes was designed.

Old records in the Government Archives in Colombo give inventories of furniture and the results of sales of furniture during the Dutch times. I am greatly indebted to Mr. E. Reimers, the Government Archivist, for having translated some of these records for me and also for having translated the section of "Oud Batavia" dealing with furniture. The records are by no means complete but they shed some light upon the kinds of wood most favoured at different periods. Unfortunately I have seen no records for the seventeenth century. In the period 1722-1724 *Ebony* (*Diospyros ebenum*) is the commonest wood mentioned in inventories of sales. Another common wood in the same period is white wood (*withoute*) which I cannot identify. *Calamander* (*Diospyros quaesita*) is mentioned on one occasion during this period. In 1728 planks of *nedun* (*Pericopsis mooniana*) and *jak* (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) are mentioned. At the end of the eighteenth century (1791 and 1792) many references are made to Calamander, Nedun and Satinwood (*Chloroxylon Swietenia*) and jak.

The following list is compiled from my own observations and deductions:—

Ebony:—Used in seventeenth century. Not much used in eighteenth century except for legs and mouldings. The use of this wood was revived in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Nedun:—Not much used in seventeenth century unless we are prepared to accept the nedun chairs shown in figures 8 and 9 as being original specimens. These types made in nedun are still fairly common but I am inclined to the view that they are eighteenth century copies. The commonest furniture wood in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Large trees are now scarce.

Jak:—Not used in the seventeenth century. Not much used in the eighteenth century except

in the closing years. A fairly common furniture wood in the nineteenth century for the humbler types of furniture.

Calamander :—Not used in the seventeenth century.

Rare in early part of eighteenth century, fairly common in second half of eighteenth century. Used throughout the nineteenth century but not common.

This wood is very much prized as a furniture wood because of its beautiful marking. It has always been regarded as rather a rare wood and is in fact the aristocrat of Ceylon woods.

Satinwood :—Not much used until the second half of the eighteenth century when it was frequently used in combination with ebony. Frequently used in the nineteenth century.

Many other woods have been used for Ceylon furniture but I have not been able to obtain sufficiently reliable information about them.

The authors of "Oud Batavia" state that the dominant furniture wood in Java in the seventeenth century was ebony. The best came from Mauritius which was possessed by the Company from 1638 to 1719. The importance of Mauritius was due to its ebony but supplies came later from Ceylon and Coromandel. With the exception of ebony the furniture in Java was made from local woods which differed from those used in Ceylon.

In many cases the chairs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries formed part of a suite in which the settee was an important member. With regard to figures 4, 5, 8, 9, 15, 16 and 17 companion chairs and settees identical in style and decoration are known to me.

Before the seventeenth century chairs were very rare in Europe and were regarded as seats of state and not as articles of ordinary domestic furniture. Benches, settles, and forms and even chests were used for sitting at tables and in the hall. Perhaps chairs were non-existent in Ceylon at that time. The Dutch established themselves in Ceylon

about the middle of the seventeenth century and the type of chair then in vogue in Holland was constructed on very severe lines and lacked both beauty and grace. In figure 1 we see such a chair. The back consisted of a piece of wood or leather stretched between the two uprights. The seat was made of wood and the legs and stretchers were plain. Leather was frequently used in Dutch chairs of the period, probably an adaptation of the Spanish leather-back chairs which found their way into the Netherlands during the Spanish occupation of the Low Countries in the sixteenth century. Incidentally the frequent use of worked leather in Spanish arts and crafts can be traced to the Moorish invasion of Spain. Doubtless specimens of these plain undecorated chairs are to be found in Ceylon but I have never seen one.

Arcaded Chairs.

Probably the earliest departure from this type is the chairs shown in figure 2 in which the back is broken up into one or two series of arcades. Arcaded chairs are well known in Holland and several specimens are found in Batavia but the type is not represented in South Africa and I know of only one chair in Ceylon.

These chairs have simple turned legs strengthened by one or two tiers of moulded or carved stretchers. The chief interest lies in the arcaded back. The individual arches are generally cusped and are supported by simple turned spindles. The only chair of this type known to me from Ceylon is shown in figure 2. This may be regarded as the oldest chair in Ceylon. It is made of ebony and is of low construction, the seat being only $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the ground and the back 29 inches. These low chairs were common in Holland in the early part of the seventeenth century. The Ceylon chair is richly carved on all surfaces even the reverse side of the back being carved, with the exception of the top rail. There are clear signs that truncated spindles were present alternating with the complete spindles supporting the arches. This is not an unusual arrangement and I know of several chairs from Batavia which have the same design.

The Ceylon chair has three horizontal rails in the back, the middle one bearing the arches. There are indications that there was a second arcade and I am inclined to the view that the upper rail has replaced an earlier rail which was arcaded. The fact that this upper rail is the only part of the back which does not bear carving on the reverse side tends to support this view. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that the upper portion of the middle rail shows clear signs of having had thirteen spindles arising from it (seven complete spindles and six half spindles) as in the lower rail. This view receives further support from the fact that most arcaded chairs have two rows of arcades. The Ceylon chair, then, probably had a double arcaded back and the upper arcade has been removed.

The rarity of this type of chair in Ceylon may be due to the fact that the style was no longer in vogue when the Dutch established themselves in Ceylon. On the other hand the Dutch settled in Batavia in the early part of the seventeenth century when the arcaded chairs was still being made in Holland and it is not surprising to find several chairs of this type still in Batavia. It is not unlikely that the Ceylon chair was made in Batavia and was brought to Ceylon by a Dutch civil servant who had been transferred from Batavia.

This type of chair is undoubtedly the earliest which occurs in the old Dutch colonies. It belongs to the late Renaissance period and has a family resemblance to the so-called "Yorkshire" and "Derbyshire" chairs which appeared in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Many arcaded chairs are to be found in Holland and though it has been suggested that the style was introduced from Italy into Holland it is not improbable that the style of the arcaded back may have been adapted from a Spanish modification of the Moorish cusped arch. Date circa 1620-1640.

Spindle-backed Chair.

The next type of chair in logical sequence is illustrated in figure 3 and is the property of Mudaliyar Amarasekera of Matara. This is a rough uncomfortable country-made chair

having no beauty. It has baluster legs joined by plain simply moulded stretchers. The back is composed of two horizontal rails with five turned spindles between them. The simplicity of the chair is spoilt by the open carving in the upper rail of the back. It is questionable whether this chair was made in Ceylon. The carving on the back is unlike any carving I have seen on furniture made in Ceylon and it is suggested that the chair was brought to Ceylon from Java by a Dutch civil servant. Date circa 1650.

Indo-Portuguese.

Towards the end of the first half of the seventeenth century spiral turnings began to be used in European furniture and was very much favoured throughout the second half of the century.

Most authors are agreed that spiral turning was introduced into Europe from the East by the Portuguese. There does not appear to be any definite proof of this but the weight of evidence goes to show that spiral turning in European furniture was first used in Portugal and later in Holland. This is significant in view of the intimate trade connexions that existed between those countries and the East. Spiral turning was introduced into England immediately after the Restoration and Evelyn refers to the rich furniture of this type brought to England by the Portuguese princess Catherine of Braganza when she married Charles II in 1662.

The earliest type of furniture with spiral turnings to be found in the East was made of ebony and was richly carved with decoration of an eastern motive (see figs. 4 and 5). Chairs, settees, cupboards and tables were made in this style and much of it found its way to Europe and is known generally as Indo-Portuguese furniture. If it be true that this style of furniture initiated the fashion for spiral furniture in Europe it must have arisen in the East in the early part of the seventeenth century and in Ceylon it was probably favoured by the Portuguese during the closing years of their connexion with the Island. This style, which probably persisted in Ceylon and Java throughout the second half of the century, seems to have found favour with the Dutch and many pieces are still to be found in Ceylon and Java.

and also in Europe. It also found its way to South Africa as was inevitable seeing that the cape was the half-way house between the East Indies and Europe.

The authors of "Oud Batavia" pointed out that ebony furniture of this type was mentioned in inventories in Batavia in 1661 and later. In their opinion this style had been borrowed from Holland.¹

There are two main types of Indo-Portuguese chair, one in which the carving is in low relief and full of detail (fig. 4) and the other in which the carving is much bolder and not so complicated (fig. 5).

Figure 4 is a chair in the Colombo Museum. There is a similar chair in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which is said to have been made for Catherine of Braganza and given to Elias Ashmole by Charles II. This illustrates the low relief carving mentioned above. It will be seen that the back and seat rail are carved and the uprights and stretchers are spirally turned.

Figure 5 differs from the previous type only in the style of ornament which is simpler and bolder.

The spirals of the Indo-Portuguese furniture were not very skilfully executed as a rule and are much cruder than those seen in later types (see figs. 8 and 9). It is noteworthy that the carving is just as profuse and detailed on the reverse side of the back as on other parts, a character which is rarely found in European furniture.

Furniture of the Indo-Portuguese type is almost invariably made of ebony and this wood probably achieved its first popularity as a furniture wood in Europe through the importation of this type of furniture.²

¹ This opinion is not supported by most writers on the subject. It is generally stated that spiral turning originated in the East but I have been unable to find any definite support for this statement. I have asked the opinion of experts on Eastern art and the replies so far received are inconclusive.

² Hence the term *ébéniste* which was applied at the end of the seventeenth century to the French cabinet makers who used ebony. Later this term was used with reference to workers in other woods than ebony.

There is a suite of Indo-Portuguese furniture at the historic Penshurst Place, Kent, which was the home of Sir Philip Sydney. One chair in the collection is unique. It is made of ebony and has the Eastern decorative motive but the spindles of the back are made of ivory and are not spirally turned. There is a carved cresting above the top rail which leads one to conclude that the chair was made later in the seventeenth century.

Figure 6 which is in the Colombo Museum may be regarded as a Dutch adaptation of the two previous types and the lack of detailed ornament is in marked contrast to the profusion of decoration which characterized the Indo-Portuguese furniture. Its probable date is about 1660.

So far we have traced the evolution of the chair through three stages: (1) the back uprights were connected by a solid piece of wood or by leather; (2) the back was composed of two or three horizontal pieces connected by means of turned spindles and in which the uprights, legs and stretchers showed simple turning; and (3) chairs with spiral uprights, legs and stretchers and with the upper and lower rails of the back connected by a number of spirally turned pieces.

No further progress along this line of development took place and we have to seek elsewhere for the next stages in the evolution of the seventeenth century chair.

Cane-backed Chair.

We must reconsider our original type in which the back was a solid piece of wood. This type was heavy and inert. If the central part of the back were cut away and the space filled with thin cross-strands of cane or rattan we should get the type seen in figure 7. This is the first stage in the well-known cane-backed chair which was developed to such a high degree between the year 1660 and 1700. It is interesting to speculate as to the origin of the cane-backed and cane-seated chair. Cane or rattan (corruption of "rotang," the Malay name) is produced from the long slender stems of certain climbing palms belonging to the genus *Calamus*. It is exported chiefly from Singapore but it is also grown in Ceylon, and the practice of rattaning the seats

and backs of chairs probably originated in the East. The method is cheap, reliable and, what is more important, cool. I suggest that the fashion of using rattan for chairs first arose either in Java or Ceylon and was introduced into Europe by the Portuguese and Dutch. Cane-backed chairs became fashionable in England after the Restoration but went out of fashion at the end of the seventeenth century whereas this style remained popular in the East throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Later the caned panels and seats of European chairs gave place to upholstery but in Ceylon and Java upholstery never became fashionable. Occasionally one finds upholstered chairs and settees in the East and almost invariably these specimens were fitted with rattan in their original condition. Upholstering in a hot climate is insanitary and uncomfortable.

Perhaps the earliest type of cane-backed chair known in Ceylon is shown in figure 7. The uprights, legs and stretchers are baluster turned. Instead of a solid wooden back there is an artistically designed frame filled with rattan. The back is low which is a primitive character. This chair which would be dated about 1660 in Europe was the property of the late Mr. Reginald John and so far as I know is the only one of its kind in Ceylon.

The next development is seen in fig. 8. This type differs from the previous one in two important respects; (1) The round turning has given place to spiral turning and (2) the back and seat rail are decorated with a simple but pleasing design.

The design of this chair is interesting and would appear to be peculiar to Ceylon. The back is simple, and unlike European chairs of the same period, is almost devoid of carving. The small amount of carving present is a simple scroll pattern and to the best of my knowledge this restrained design has never been adapted in European furniture. There are two chairs in the Museum at Batavia which have this simple decoration on the seat rails, but the backs of the chairs are highly ornate and quite unlike anything I have seen in Ceylon. I sought the opinion of the authorities in Batavia regarding the probable origin of this simple scroll decor-

ation & Mr. I. V. van der Wall of the Archaeological Service at Weltevreden expressed the view that this scroll pattern is European in origin and stated that many Dutch seats and chairs of the early part of the seventeenth century had this decoration. Such an authoritative opinion cannot be dismissed lightly, nevertheless I maintain that this scroll pattern is much more likely to have originated in the East, and most probably in Ceylon, where it is fairly common, than in Europe, where I do not know of a single piece of furniture showing this precise type of decoration. Date about 1670.

Another type is seen in figure 9. This is a well-known Ceylon type and so far as I know is peculiar to the Island. De Jong and Vogelsang in their book on "Holländische Möbel und Raumkunst" figure an arm-chair from the Hague which has this decoration. They state that the chair is made of Indian wood so I am satisfied that the chair came from Ceylon. It resembles the preceding type in its simplicity and differs from European chairs in the fact that most of the wood surface is plain and is not broken up by carving. The design here is more intricate and at the same time more beautiful than that in the previous type. I know of no chairs from Batavia or South Africa with this design. I consider that this style of ornament because of its simplicity and restraint is superior to most of the European decoration used in similar chairs of the same period. The artist has been peculiarly successful in combining simplicity and elegance. Figure 9 illustrates part of a settee but there are many chairs known to me in this style.

There are many such chairs and settees in Ceylon almost identical in design to the smallest degree. Some of them have the backs and seats rattanned, others are upholstered. In all cases the upholstering would appear to be secondary.

This and the preceding type are invariably made of nedun. Most of the examples known to me are in an excellent state of preservation. The period is about 1670 but it is very doubtful whether the Ceylon specimens were made at this period and it is more likely that they were made

towards the middle of the eighteenth century. Nedun was hardly used as a furniture wood in the seventeenth century.

From 1670 to 1690 the cane-backed chairs in Europe became very elaborate but it is a remarkable thing that no examples of this period are to be found in Ceylon though a few poor specimens are to be found in Java and South Africa.

The most elaborately carved cane-backed chair that I know of in Ceylon is shown in figure 10. This chair is the property of Mrs. Kindersley of Kandy and a comparison of this with the two previous types shows that the carving of the back is much more elaborate and the whole of the frame of the central panel is richly carved and pierced and there is a definite cresting above the panel. The seat rails, too, are more elaborately carved than in the previous types. The seat and the central panel of the back are upholstered but there is no doubt that these were rattanned originally. This chair, which may be regarded as a distinct advance upon the two previous types, is difficult to date. If it were a European chair it would be dated about 1675. There is a similar chair in Queen's House but I believe it was made long after the period to which it belonged, probably at the end of the eighteenth century.

The next chair in the historic sequence differs from the previous one in having an elaborately carved front stretcher, but agrees with it in having spiral legs and uprights and in having a rattan panel in the back surrounded by an elaborately carved frame. Chairs of this kind are not found in Ceylon and I cannot explain why the carved front stretcher which was such an important feature in European chairs of the second half of the seventeenth century is never seen in Ceylon. This type which is dated about 1680 is not figured but it is easily imagined by substituting for the spiral front stretcher of figure 10 the highly carved front stretcher of figure 11.

The Cabriole Leg.

The next step in the sequence is marked by one very important change. For the first time the straight legs are replaced by curved ones. These were at first in the form of an S-shaped, or more rarely a C-shaped, scroll and were clumsy in design in the first instance. Gradually the lines became finer until the cabriole leg emerged with a carved knee and having a foot which varied from the simple club foot to the more pretentious claw and ball foot. This change had a very marked influence upon the style of chairs for the next seventy years. Figure 11 shows an example of this important type, a Flemish chair from the Cluny Museum, Paris. The predominance of the S-scroll should be noted in the back, stretchers and legs. Another important change is that the twisted uprights of the back are replaced by turned balusters. Such a type is dated about 1685. The back became higher and often terminated in a highly ornate cresting. The year 1690 may be said to mark the end of the vogue for the twisted spiral in Europe. The type shown in figure 11 is not found in Ceylon but a few modified specimens of this type are to be found in Java and South Africa.

The cane-backed chair lost its popularity in Europe after 1690 and went out with the seventeenth century, though the backs of chairs were sometimes filled entirely with cane during the Louis Quinze period.

The last decade of the century in Europe saw a variety of attempts to establish a new style. In addition to the scrolled leg from which the cabriole leg became evolved, there was a straight turned leg with "peg-top" turning and "inverted-cup" turning with serpentine stretchers. These were probably French in origin and came to England with the Dutch in 1688 and were characteristic of the William and Mary period. There were various modifications of the back in all of which the cresting was well developed. In some cases the entire space between the uprights was caned. In others the space was occupied by horizontal laths (ladder-back). All the chairs of this transitional period in the last

decade of the seventeenth century had very high backs and elaborate crestings¹. I know of no chairs of this type in Ceylon, Java or South Africa.

A noteworthy variation of the massive straight-legged type is seen in the chair which was used as a throne by the Kings of Kandy after the close of the seventeenth century in which the basic style is undoubtedly Louis XIV, but the decorative motive is Eastern.²

There is one important type of chair in this transition period which deserves special mention (Fig. 12). It is a chair with scrolled legs of a more delicate type than those seen in Fig. 11. The back is particularly noteworthy in that the cane has given place to an elaborate centre piece of pierced carvings and the high cresting is also a striking feature of the chair. This type is dated about 1695 and is not found in Ceylon, Java or South Africa.

The Splat.

Fig. 13, shows the next stage in the sequence. The carved central piece of the back is much reduced and forms the "Splat" which we now meet for the first time and which became such a marked feature in chairs of the first half of the eighteenth century. The cresting is still well developed though probably less so than in the previous type. It should be noted that the splat does not reach the seat rail. The legs have lost their S-shaped appearance owing to the upper part of the scroll having become truncated. This type is dated 1700 and is not found in Ceylon, Java or South Africa.

In the next stage which is not illustrated the splat becomes plainer and the cresting is reduced. The splat is still separated from the seat rail. The front corners of the seat are rounded for the first time. All the previous types

¹ It has been suggested by Mr. Percy Macquoid that the high-backed chair with the ornate cresting was developed in response to the demand for a suitable background for the enormous periwigs worn by the men and the heavy head gear worn by the ladies at the end of the seventeenth century.

² A note on "The Throne of the Kings of Kandy" will appear in the next issue of this Journal.

had square seats, generally with the back and front of the same width. When the rounded corners appeared at the beginning of the eighteenth century the front edge of the seat was generally wider than the back and the outline of the seat was often beautifully shaped (see Fig. 14).

We come next to a very interesting type of chair (Fig. 14) which though rare in Ceylon is well known from the examples seen in the old Dutch Church at Wolvendaal, Colombo and elsewhere. It differs from the previous type in one important respect. The splat reaches the seat rail and is joined to it by a "shoe," thus making an important departure in chair design. This type of chair first came into use in Europe about 1710 but the Ceylon chairs would appear to be much later. The Chair shown in figure 14 which has the initials V. M. carved on the back of the splat was in the possession of the Van Dort family for more than a century and a half. Miss Grace Van Dort informs me that these initials refer to Richard van Minnen (1706-1749) who was Chief Administrator of Ceylon. The chair ultimately passed into the possession of the Van Dort family about the middle of the eighteenth century. It is probable that the chair is dated about 1730-1740¹. This chair belongs to the pre-rococo period but there are several chairs at Wolvendaal Church which have rococo decoration. The rococo style which was inspired by Chinese decorative art established itself in France during the Regency and lasted from 1715 to 1765. Other European countries including Holland were influenced by this flamboyant style. As might be expected it took some time for this style to establish itself in Ceylon and so far as we know the more exaggerated forms of rococo decoration never found favour in the Island.

As already stated some of the Wolvendaal chairs show signs of rococo influence which is shown in the lack of symmetry in the design (see Fig. 15). If these chairs had been made in Europe we should be justified in dating them about 1730. It is a nice problem to decide when they first

¹ It would appear that this chair is one of the few pieces of Ceylon furniture with an authentic history.

appeared in Ceylon. The history of the chairs themselves is not known so we must look elsewhere for evidence. The church at Wolvendaal was not opened for public service until 1757 when it replaced the old church in the Fort which was built by the Portuguese on the site now known as the Gordon Gardens. Were these chairs transferred from the old church to the new in 1757 along with other church effects or were they made at the time of the transfer or later? In order to discover an answer to this question I have examined the decoration on the gravestones in Wolvendaal church which have been figured in *Lapidarium zeylanicum*. Briefly the result of the inquiry is as follows. All eighteenth century gravestones up to 1750 are decorated in a strictly symmetrical style in which the acanthus motive plays an important part. This style was characteristic of the Baroque period in Europe, using the term in its narrowest sense, and it is interesting to note that van Minnen's gravestone, dated 1749¹, (fig. 16) is in this style as was also his chair. Gravestones dated 1752 and 1755 show a transition as there was a distinct tendency to follow the rococo style. A gravestone of 1760 shows still more rococo influence. Others dated 1761, 1765 and 1767 are decidedly rococo (fig. 17) and this style seems to have survived in Ceylon almost to the end of the Dutch occupation. The evidence of the gravestones, then, tells us that the rococo style did not begin to make itself felt until after the middle of the century and was not firmly established until 1760. We may conclude, therefore, that the Wolvendaal chairs devoid of rococo decoration similar to the type shown in Fig. 14, were made prior to 1755 and those chairs in which the rococo influence is present were made after that date, that is to say, the pre-rococo chairs were probably transferred from the old church in 1757 while the rococo chairs were made for the new church or at some period after the new church came into use. It

¹ Richard van Minnen was buried in the old church in the Fort, but his remains were removed to Wolvendaal church on Sept. 4, 1813, along with others at the orders of the Governor Sir Robert Brownrigg, on the occasion when the Governor and his principal officers followed the coffins in solemn procession from the old church in the Fort to their new resting place in Wolvendaal.

is surprising to find that nothing definite is known of this collection of handsome chairs at Wolvendaal, a collection which is of considerable intrinsic and artistic value.

The *Kerkstoel* or church chair was an important piece of furniture in the eighteenth century and was probably a more expensive piece than the ordinary articles of furniture made for domestic use. The church chair was kept in the home and was carried to the church each Sunday by a slave who also carried the betel box and probably the spittoon.

There is a small water-colour painting by Carl Fredrik Reimer in the Ryks Museum at Amsterdam depicting the scene of Governor Falck's audience to the Kandyan embassy in 1772. The Governor is seated at the head of the table with his councillors and the chairs are very similar in design to those in the Governor's pew at Wolvendaal church.

With regard to the general appearance of the Wolvendaal chairs it should be noted that the back uprights are shaped in a very pleasing fashion (see fig 14). Only the front legs are of the cabriole type and they are carved at the knee and the feet vary in design, being either scrolled, club-footed, hoofed, or claw and ball. In Europe there is a definite chronological sequence in the development of these four types of foot but it would be difficult to date a Ceylon chair by the character of its legs. Apart from the Wolvendaal chairs there are several chairs of this type in the Island, generally made of nedun or calamander. There is a calamander set at Queen's House which is, I believe, of a much more recent date than the style would lead one to suppose. So far as I know this type of chair is not common in Batavia or South Africa though there is a settee of this type in Batavia. The delicate lines of these chairs and the somewhat intricate nature of their decoration places them in the highest class of Ceylon furniture. They were probably used by high officials and were not within reach of the humble people. But chairs of a less ambitious design were in use at the same period. Fig. 18 gives an example of a plain fiddle-backed chair which is devoid of decoration. The cresting has almost disappeared and, what is perhaps more

important, there are no stretchers. The chairs of the seventeenth century was heavy and were not designed for strength and it was found necessary to unite the legs by stretchers. The early eighteenth century chairs were much lighter and more delicate in design and though stretchers were still used they were lighter and were made more for decorative effect than for utility. In course of time it followed that the stretchers were no longer deemed necessary for the safety of the chair and towards the middle of the eighteenth century they were rarely used in Europe. The chairs of the Louis Quinze period for example had no stretchers and this style was followed by most of the cabinet makers of Europe. In Ceylon, however, the stretchered chair never went out of favour. This is doubtless due to the fact that the local carpenter rarely succeeded in making satisfactorily joints of sufficient strength to enable him to dispense with the stretcher. The chair shown in fig. 19 is an elaborate and inferior modification of the pre-rococo chair and would be dated about 1730 in Holland. It does not find a place in the direct line of development which I have attempted to trace. It may be regarded as an offshoot from the type seen in fig. 14 but differs from it in the profuseness of the decoration and in a certain loss of elegance. The back is lower and the legs and stretchers are rather clumsy and the decoration excessive. This seems to have been a fairly common type as several chairs are known to me in Ceylon including one in the Colombo Museum and one in Wolvendaal church and there is also a settee of the same design on loan to the Colombo Museum from Dr. P. E. Pieris. There is also a chair of identical design in Batavia figured in "Oud Batavia". The latter has been covered with red Chinese lacquer. The use of the scallop pattern of which the Dutch were so fond is well illustrated here, and is seen in the cresting, the front seat rail and the stretcher, a large scallop having a smaller one inside in each case. The scallop on the cresting is supported at each side by a bird which is probably the *garuda* of Sinhalese mythology.

Fig. 20 illustrates a type that is well-known in Ceylon. It is interesting to note that almost without exception these

chairs are made of calamander. This type is to be seen in Wolvendaal Church and Queen's House and many specimens are in the hands of furniture collectors. This chair suggests a combination of styles of different periods. The central splat which does not reach the seat would lead us to believe that the chair was very early eighteenth century. At first sight this appears to be borne out by the scrolled legs and by the style of the stretchers, but the decoration of the splat and the front seat rail which is a very simple type of rococo suggests a later date. Moreover, the legs are not primitive scrolled legs. (Compare them with the complete scrolled legs of Fig. 12 or the truncated scrolled legs of Fig. 13). We see that the upper part of the leg passes imperceptibly into the seat rail. This was characteristic of the Louis Quinze style at the middle of the eighteenth century. In fact this chair is an adaptation of the Louis Quinze style. French chairs of the period 1730-1750 frequently had the upholstered or caned back separated from the seat rail; the feet were scrolled and there were no stretchers. In Germany, Holland and Portugal we sometimes come across a variation of this style in chairs of this period in which the back has a central splat which does not reach the seat rail, but differing from the Ceylon chair in having large perforations in the splat and also in the nature of the decoration and also in having no stretchers which are invariably present in the Ceylon chairs. This type of chair was not made in Ceylon earlier than 1760. In its general design and in its simple decoration the type shown in figure 20 would appear to be peculiar to Ceylon.

It should be remembered that towards the end of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century chairs were made in suites with a settee to match. Complete suites of old Dutch furniture are almost unknown in Ceylon at the present time though suites of the types seen in Figs. 8, 9 and 20 are known to me. It is probable, however, that these are reproductions made towards the end of the eighteenth century. In most cases only individual pieces of a suite remain and, as might be expected, chairs are commoner than the settees. So far as I know there are no settees in

Ceylon to match the type of Wolvendaal chair seen in Fig. 14, but I know of at least one settee of this kind in Batavia. This type of settees would appear to be very rare in Europe. In some cases settees are known without corresponding chairs. There are many examples of plain fiddle-backed settees in which the splat of the chair is repeated four or five times in the back of the settee. None of these call for any special comment but there is a settee in the possession of Mr. Hancock of Kadugannawa which is different from any other type of Ceylon chair or settee known to me. The splats are perforated with a pleasing design reminiscent of the type sometimes seen in mid-eighteenth century chairs in Holland (Fig. 21). A similar type of settee was illustrated by the late Mr. J. P. Lewis in his article on "Some old Dutch Colonial Furniture."¹

The round burgomaster chairs (Fig. 22) are well known in Ceylon. I regret to say that modern reproductions are being made which are a very poor imitation of the original chairs which were made in Holland about 1650, and in Ceylon probably before the close of the seventeenth century. A very interesting adaptation of this chair to the ideas of mid-eighteenth century is seen in Fig. 23. The design is not unpleasing though the decoration may be thought to be excessive. The semi-circular back consists of three panels with rococo decoration. There are six cabriole legs not unlike the front legs of the chair shown in Fig. 19 joined by carved stretchers. In addition there are turned stretchers joining opposite legs. It is interesting to compare the two types of burgomaster chairs shown in figures 22 and 23. The architecture of the two chairs is similar and they only differ in the nature of the decorative motive. The chair shown in figure 23 is the property of Mr. G. A. de Zoysa and is on loan to the Colombo Museum. It is made of kumbuk wood painted black and so far as I know this is the only chair of its kind in Ceylon though the late Mr. J. P. Lewis figured one in his article on "Some old Dutch Colonial Furniture". Whether this is the same chair I am unable to say, but I

¹ The Connoisseur, Vol. XXXVII, p. 63, Oct. 1913.

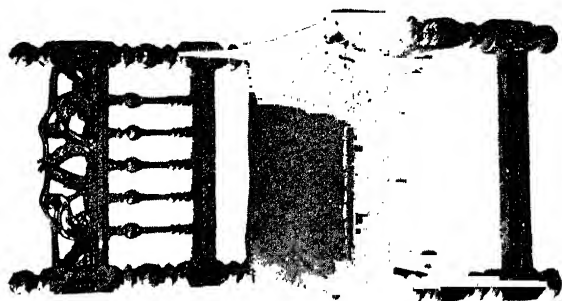


Fig. 3.

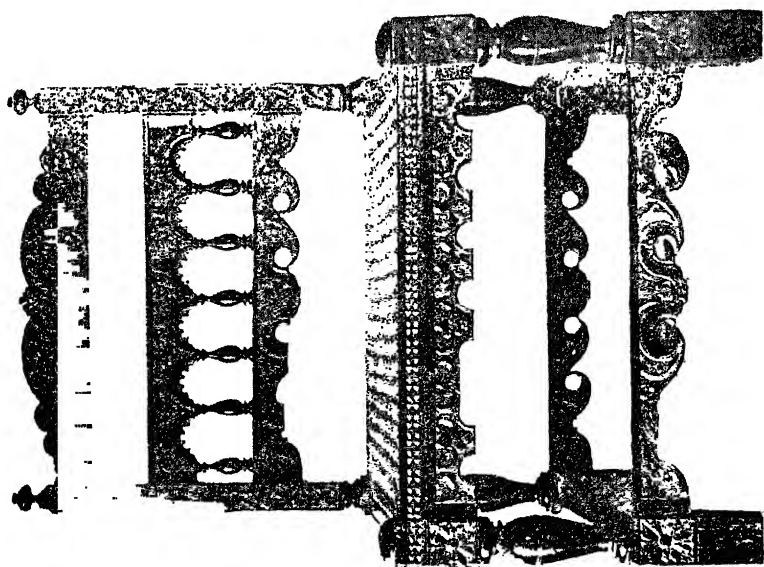


Fig. 2.

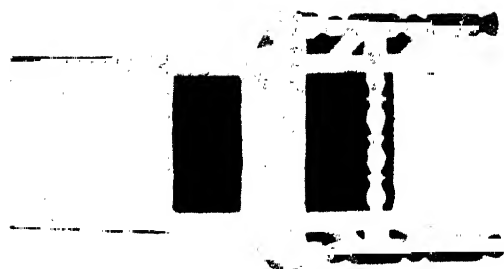


Fig. 1.

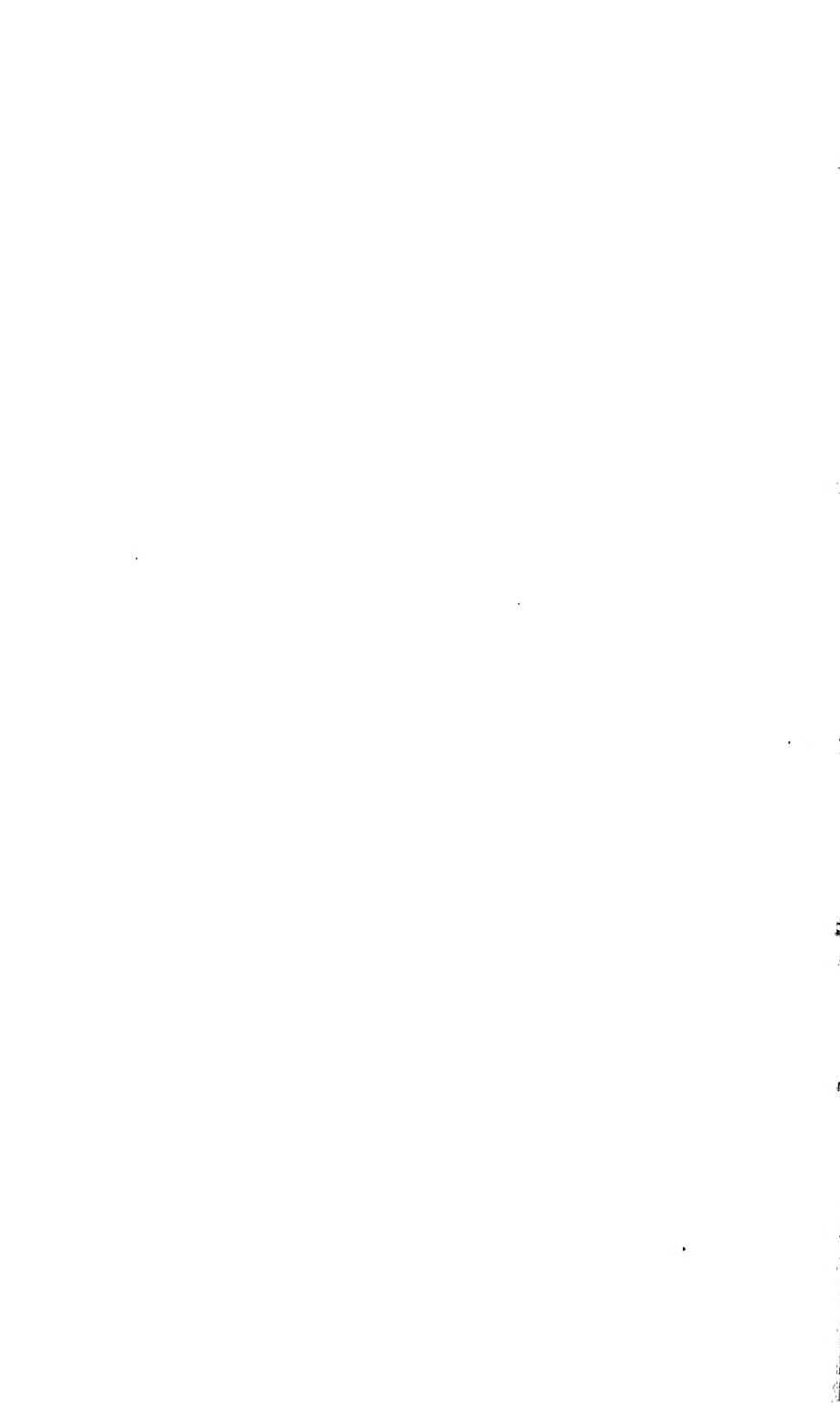




Fig. 4.

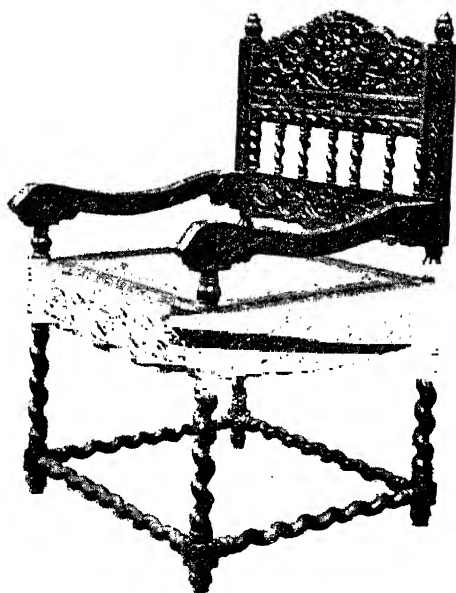


Fig. 5.

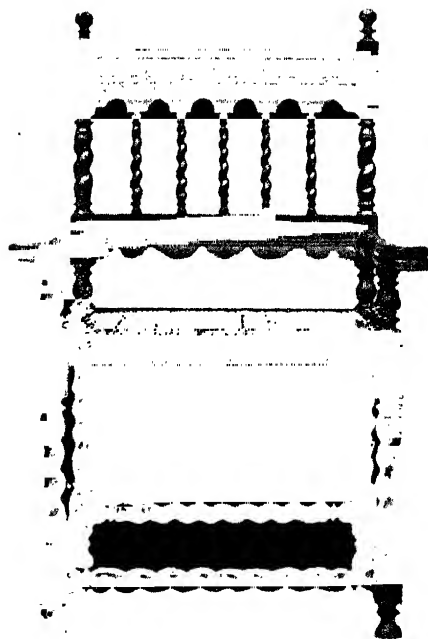
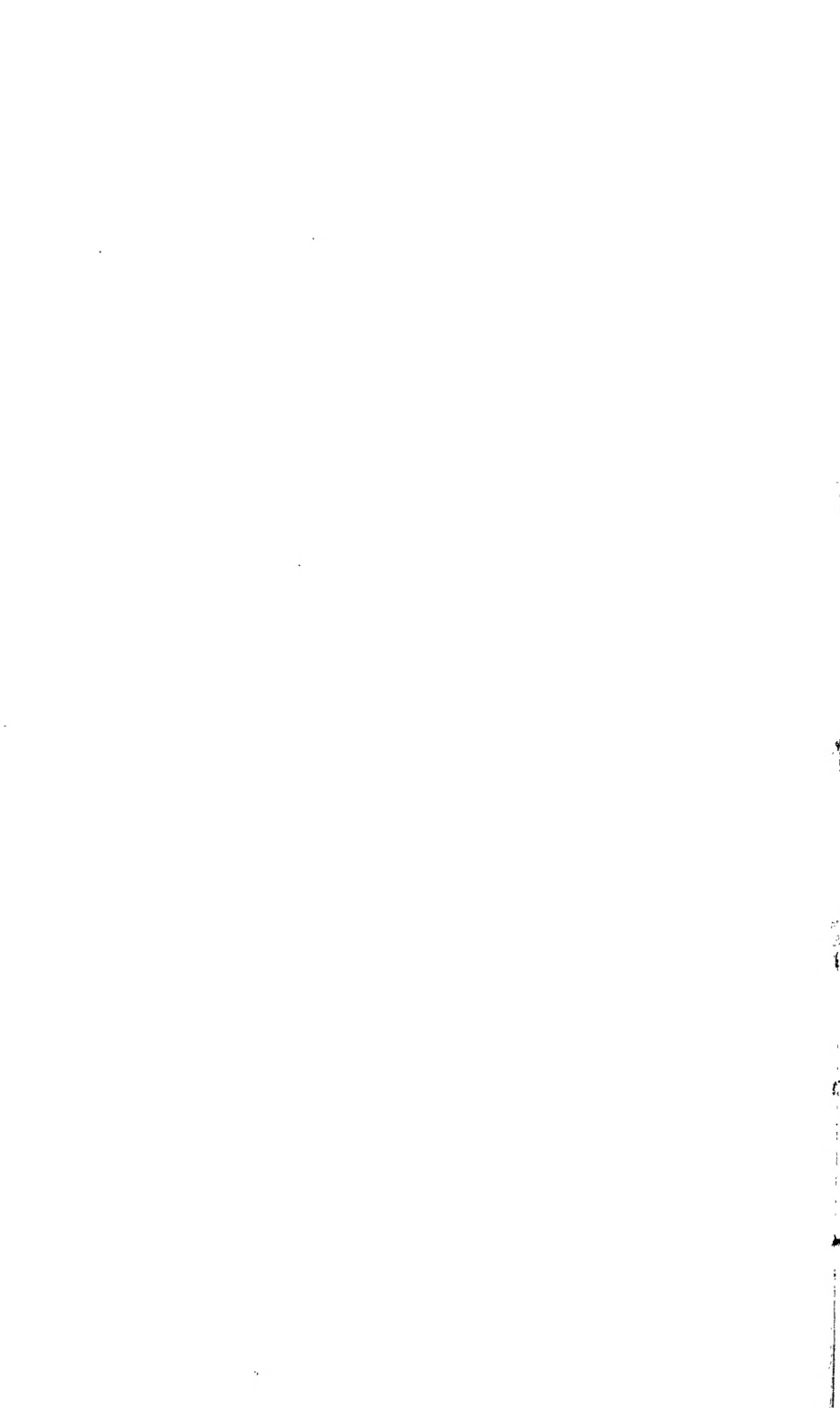


Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



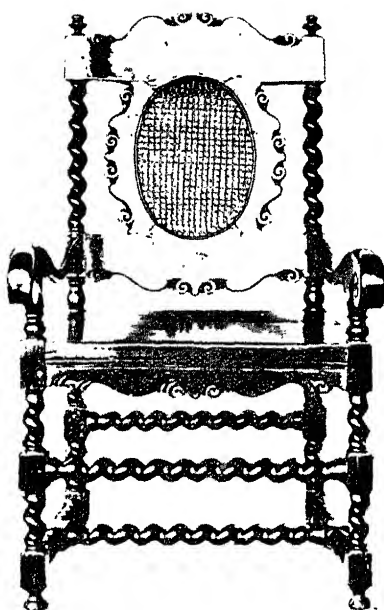


Fig. 8.

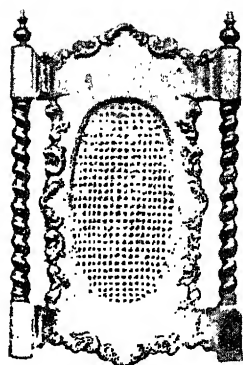


Fig. 9.

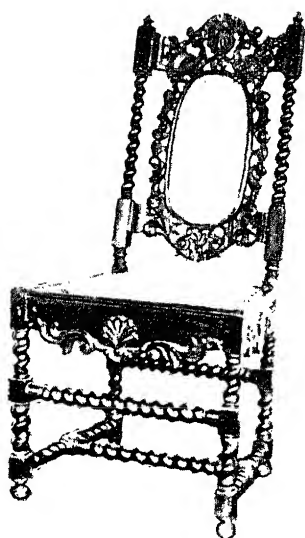


Fig. 10.

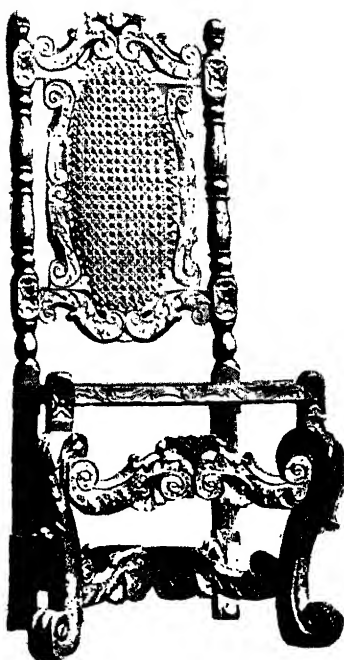


Fig. 11.

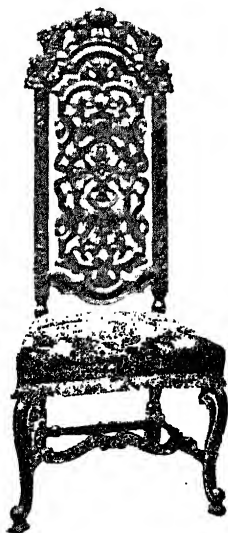


Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.

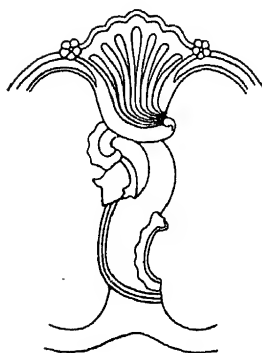


Fig. 15.



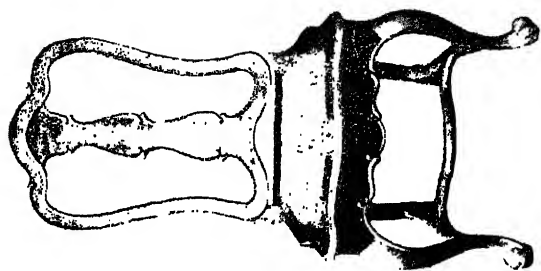


Fig. 20.

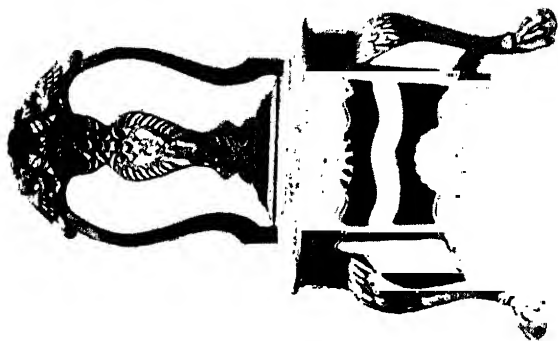


Fig. 19.

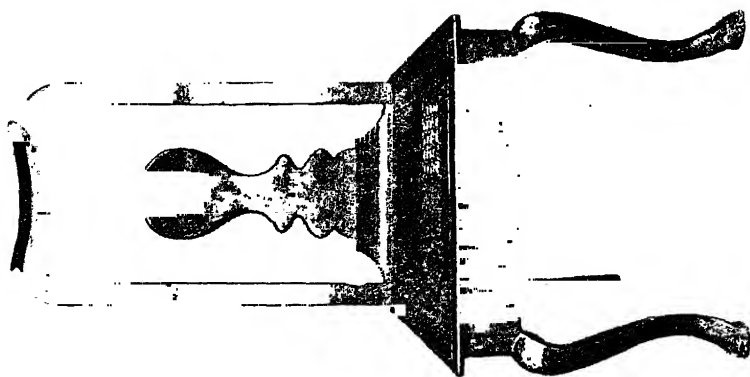


Fig. 18.

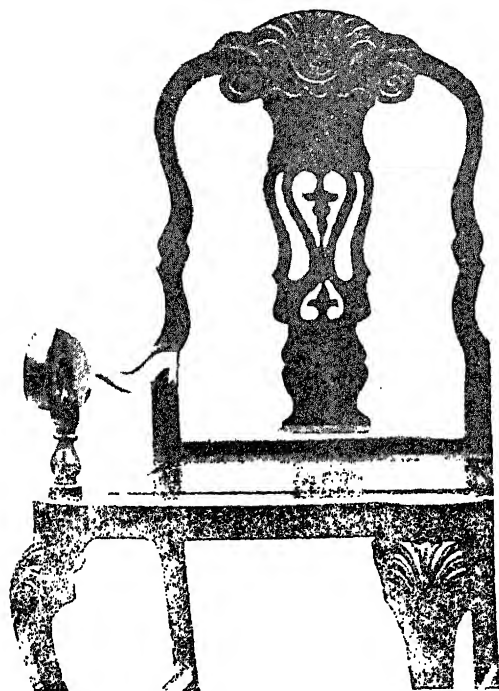


Fig. 21.

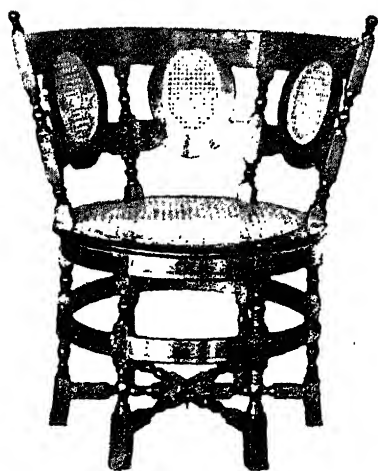


Fig. 22.



Fig. 23.

am inclined to think that the chair figured by Mr. Lewis was his own property which he removed from Ceylon. The two chairs are identical in design and in the detail of their decoration. There is a similar chair identical in design at Penshurst Place, Kent. Lord de l'Isle and Dudley informed me that he considered his chair to be unique but that is not the case. There are also two other chairs of similar design known to me, one figured in "Oud Batavia" and the other which is the property of Baroness Loudon, The Hague, figured by de Jonge and Vogelsang (Fig. 368)¹. In all, then, there are five chairs of similar design. The Ceylon specimen differs from the others in only one respect. In the latter there is a carved boss at the junction of the turned stretchers. This is absent in the Ceylon specimen and it is not unlikely that it was present originally and has since been removed. This chair is dated about 1735 in Europe and about 1760 in Ceylon.

There are some chairs in Wolvendaal church which resemble the English chairs of the Sheraton period. These chairs may have been made at the end of the eighteenth century in the concluding years of the Dutch occupation, or, what I regard to be less probable, the style may have been introduced by the British. I do not propose, however, to discuss this type in the present paper as strictly speaking, the last well established types which were introduced by the Dutch in the eighteenth century belonged to the Rococo period.

3. The Chairman, the Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, Dr. P. E. Pieris and Mr. J. C. De offered remarks.

4. Dr. Pearson replied.

5. A vote of thanks to the lecturer proposed by the chairman and a vote of thanks to the chair proposed by the President were carried with acclamation.

¹ Holländische Möbel und Raumkunst von 1650-1750.

THE EARLIEST DUTCH VISITS TO CEYLON

BY DONALD FERGUSON,

Continued from Vol. XXX, No. 80, p. 409

B. 2. LETTER FROM DUTCH MERCHANTS AT ACHIN TO DIRECTORS OF N. E. I. CO. IN HOLLAND, DATED 18, NOVEMBER, 1602¹.

Laus Des, 18, November, 1602 in.....² Joris Spilbergh arrived here on the 17th September³, after he had put in to many places on the coast of Guinea, Amobon⁴, the bay of Saldaingna⁵, the river of Cuama⁶, Mallelle in the Commorros⁷, and Seylon⁸.....In coming hitherward he put in to the roadstead of Matecallo, and journeyed 32 miles inland to Don Juan, King of Candi, with whom he treated much, left two men with him, and received and bought from him many precious stones and some cinnamon, but the worth of the stones we do not know, although they estimate them highly⁹.

.....Your honor's obedient servants,
CORNELIS JOLÿT, NICOLAES
PIETERS, JAN MAERSSE, LUCAS
ANTHONISZ¹⁰.

1. The extract here given is copied from a document in the India office *Hague Transcripts* (First series i. viii). The writers of the letter had been left at Achin by the ships of the Middleburg Company (see *supra* No. 80 p. 369) in order to establish a Dutch factory there.

2. This blank is in the copy; but the original probably had "Atsien" (Achin).

3. See *supra*.

4. Read "Annobon."

5. Saldanha Bay, which Spilbergen renamed "Table Bay."

6. The name by which the Portuguese called the Zambesi.

7. Mohilla, one of the Comoro Islands (see *supra*).

8. On the above see *C. Lit. Reg.*, vi. 309.

9. For details of Spilbergen's visit to Ceylon see *supra*, B1.

10. The Spilbergen diarist mentions these men under 17, September, 1602, by the names of "Cornelis Jolijt, Jan Mertsz, Lucas Jansz, and Claes Pieterssen," and under 29th, January, 1603, mentions "Klaes Pieterssz of Flushing and Lucas Jansz of Antwerp." De Jonge, however (*Ophomst*, iii 398) gives the names as in this letter.

C. SEBALT DE WEERT'S ACCOUNT OF HIS FIRST VISIT TO CEYLON, IN A LETTER TO WYBRAND VAN WARWYCK, DATED AT ACHIN, 1st APRIL, 1603.

Of this lengthy letter, which was utilized by de Jonge in his *Opkomst*, iii, there is a copy in the India Office *Hague Transcripts* (First Series I), and it is from this that I have made my translation. Neither de Jonge, nor anyone else, as far as I know, has drawn attention to the fact that the account of de Weert's first visit to Ceylon, as published by the brothers de Bry in 1605, 1606, &c. (see *infra*, D2, introduction) is simply an almost literal translation of the summary contained in the document described hereafter (see D1, note 1), which summary, internal evidence proves, was made from this very letter. The Spilbergen diarist tells us (*supra*) that de Weert's letters to admiral van Warwyck were delivered to the latter at Bantan on 27th April, 1603, by Spilbergen (*cf. infra*); and it is evident that this letter, or a copy of it, was sent home by van Warwyck by the combined fleet under Heemskerck and Spilbergen, which reached Holland on 24th March, 1604 (see *infra*). The anonymous summarizer has done his work well on the whole, though he has passed over some of the most interesting portions of de Weert's letters: a fair idea of this may be gained from the notes I have appended to the translation. From these also can be judged how closely the German version of de Bry follows the Dutch summary; but this will be seen even more clearly if we place in parallel columns the opening paragraphs of the Dutch summary and of de Bry's translations.

DS.

Coming further to the 14 ships and one yacht that sailed under the command of the admiral Wýbrandt van Warwýck and vice admiral Sebolt de Weert, of these the three named *Zirckzee*, *Vlissingen* and *Der Goes*, under the command of the vice admiral Sebolt de Weert arrived the 28

DB.

This voyage of the abovesaid Sebolt de Weert will moreover be more fully described, and in substance is shortly as follows :

that he arrived the 28 November anno 1603 [*sic*] off the island of Zeylon and that

November a° 1603 [*sic*] off the island of Seylon. The vice admiral betook himself with 15 men on land and was there well received and brought with 6 elephants to Matalacou, from there pursuing his journey with 6 men to the chief city Candij, situated 36 miles inland, where the great king holds his court. Owing to rain and bad weather he was 15 days on the way, finding in every place very friendly and obliging people, who treated him and his [men] very well and defrayed [them] of all expenses.

he betook himself with 15 persons on land, where he was then well received, and brought with 6 elephants to Matalacalo. From there he took his journey further with 6 persons to the chief city Candy, situated some 30 or 40 miles inland, where the great king holds his court; owing to much rain and bad weather he had to be 15 days long on the way where he met everywhere a very friendly people, who received [and] treated him and his [men], full friendly and well, and defraying [them] of all expenses.

But, if it is evident that the de Brys had in their possession a copy of this summary it is equally clear that they also had access to the full text of de Weert's letter (at a later date, probably), since, as I show elsewhere (D2, introduction, note¹), they utilized, in an interpolation to Bree's diary, portions of the letter that the Dutch summarizer had passed over.

LETTER FROM SEBALD DE WEERT AT ACHIN TO WYBRAND VAN WARWIJCK AT BANTAM.

Most honored, wise, very prudent sirs [*sic*], . . The reasons that move us to go to Seylon I shall relate at length to your honor, together with what befell me there, [and] I beg your honor to take in good part my prolixity in writing, [since it] is in order that your honor may the better have knowledge of the kingdom of Zeylon, and receive favorably and approve of our effort.

After we had arrived with fair prosperity off the island of Zeylon at the altitude of about 7 degrees we went on shore at a place named Panem², where we learnt that Matalacou where we wished to be lay about 10 or 12 miles³ higher,

1. On 28th November, 1602, (see *infra*, D2). It will be noticed that throughout this letter de Weert gives no dates.

2. *Sic*, a copyist's error for "Panane" (cf. *infra*, D2, note 38).

3. If the mile here mentioned be taken as equal to 4 miles English, the distance given is fairly correct, from Panawa to Karativu being about 48 miles by the present coast road.

and that there had been there two large ships, the which by tokens they gave me of the captain as also of others I found to have been the general Spilbergen, the bearer of this ⁴, who had been up inland to Candy, where the great king resides ⁵, that he had also left there four men ⁶, and further that he had further laden for home, at which we were not a little rejoiced. In Mattacalou⁷ I heard the same; but as we were made to believe much regarding lading, and two clerks remaining on land saw no appearance thereof, we resolved to set sail again direct for Achin, and making ready therefor, there came the message from the king⁸ that we should not depart before we had sent a man or two to Candy to the great king, who could well lade us, that in the country there was plenty of pepper, wax⁹ and cinnamon, and all reasonably cheap; also a great quantity of precious stones; on hearing which, we changed our resolution, and arranged that two ships¹⁰ alone should depart, in order to advise those of Achin of our intention, and that, I remaining there should myself go to Candy lying about 36 miles inland¹¹, and not be deceived by evil reports.

So I went ashore, taking with me some presents for the king, and as it was winter¹² there, and was bad weather daily, our boat was thrown over by the breakers right from stern to stern, and I that could not swim right under it, but God be praised we suffered no harm except to our goods. (During all the time we lay there also we did not lose one man, though very seldom any boat or canoe went to land

4. See supra, B1, and infra, D2.

5. Cf. supra. B1,

6. Two he had left at Kandy (see supra, No. 80 p. 388 and two had deserted at Matecalo (see supra,). No. 80 p. 385

7. Not the town, which lay some miles inland, and which de Weert did not visit until later (see infra), but the road or shore of Matecalo, where de Weert arrived probably next day (29th November).

8. See supra.

9. After "wax" the copy has "quan" (?), which I cannot explain.

10. The *Vlissingen* and *der Goos*, which sailed for Achin on 11th December, 1602 (see supra, B1, and infra, D2.)

11. Cf. supra, p. 57, where de Bry interpolates after 36 "or 40."

12. That is the north-east monsoon period.

that was not upset or filled). Coming on land¹³ we were well received, and immediately rode with six elephants to Mattacalou¹⁴ about a mile inland¹⁵, where we were shown great honour by the king, and he begged much that I would be willing to send someone to Candy, [and] he would meanwhile cause to be collected all the pepper, wax and cinnamon that was possible to him, doubting not that within three months he would load us; but he is a cheat who has very little power, is tributary to the Portuguese, and obedient to the king of Candij more from constraint than good-will¹⁶. His hope was, that through the daily bad weather our ship should come to be wrecked, whereby he would have got a booty, though he feigned himself otherwise¹⁷.

Having waited quietly there one day, I sent on board again a part of the crew (because I had 15 men with me), and with six men set out on the journey upon elephants. On the way we had daily so much rain that we were fifteen days on the journey, often prevented by the rivers from pursuing the journey. On the road I found such friendly and obliging people that it is incredible: we were everywhere defrayed¹⁸ and well treated. On coming halfway, there met us seven men, who were sent by the king, as he had tidings that there were three ships on the coast, in order to learn what ships they were, who were very [glad]¹⁹ at seeing us, they brought letters from the Dutch that were in Candy²⁰, [and] begged that we would be pleased to write

13. Probably on the day that the other ships sailed (11th December).

14. Cf. Spilbergen's reception. The town of Matecalo is now spoken of.

15. So also the Spilbergen diarist. Bree says "full two miles," and Rycks "a short mile." The present town of Chammanturai lies between three and four miles from the sea, so that Rycks seems nearest the mark.

16. Cf. *supra*.

17. Of course de Weert knew nothing at that time of the unfriendly conduct that this chief had shown towards Spilbergen. All the diarists agree in their condemnation of the vanniya of Matecalo.

18. The copy has "gedesnoijeert," evidently an error for "gedefroyeert" (cf. *infra*, note 95). Ds. as printed has the form "defrezeerden," which seems to be a misreading for "defroyeerden."

19. This word is wanting in the copy.

20. Cf. the statement of the Spilbergen diarist, *supra*.

what people we were, because the king desired it much; whereupon they immediately sent back two men with the answer, other two forward to view my ship, and the rest remained with me. The king having received my letters was so delighted that he could not keep patience, longing so for my coming that he could not rest, he sent me every hour people with victuals, refreshments²¹ and every token of benevolence; he also sent his brother-in-law²² with 100 men with pipes and drums to receive and convoy me. On coming near the city I was received with such magnificence and triumph that I know not if in our land one could do more after the manner of the country to his princely excellency. When we were two days' journey from the city he sent his own *palankin*²³, in which I was carried²⁴.

On coming into the city, the people were all astir²⁵, the soldiers²⁶ in order quite half a mile along the road through which I must pass; all the ordnance was fired, [and] they made such a noise of²⁷ trumpets, shawms and such like instruments²⁸, that one could neither see nor hear²⁹. Thus I was conducted to my lodging, which was behung according to custom³⁰, whilst the king sent me word that I should rest a little and thereafter come and speak with him; but I had hardly the leisure in which I could eat something, [when he] summoned me immediately to him, [and] gave me no [time] to dress myself and make ready my presents.

21. De Bry alters this to "fruits."

22. This must have been a brother of one of Vimaladharmasub-queens (cf. *supra*, B1, note 35).

23. DB. interpolates here "or litter, that had to be carried by several persons."

24. Compare the preceding and what follows with the description of Spilbergen's reception, *supra*.

25. This, I think, is the meaning here, though "op de weere" might be translated "on their defence." Ds. has "the burghery was all afoot" (op de been); while DB. has "the burghers of the city were all mustered" (*aufgeinhuct*).

26. DB. interpolates "with their weapons."

27. DS. (and DB.) interpolates "drums."

28. DS. (but not DB.) interpolates "also of the ordnance."

29. Compare Linschoten i. 228, 258 (where the English translation is faulty).

30. DS. "suitably behung and adorned" DB. "right stately behung and adorned."

I was again conducted to the court with such playing³¹, and number of people that we could hardly get unhindered along the street. My presents were carried uncovered before me, which were, a red cloth, two large mirrors, a handsome gilt musket, a beautiful gilt sword that I had taken with me for my own use, and further a lot of handsome glasses, but mostly broken on the way. In the hall, which, though with us it would not have been of much consequence, nevertheless I consider to be handsomer than [those] of any kings of all these islands, [and] was made in no wise after our or the Portuguese manner³²,—stood all those of his council and captains³³ on each side against the wall. In the middle hung the likeness of his princely excellency³⁴ painted on a cloth full-size from life, presented to the king a little before by the general Spilbergen³⁵, and a handsome carpet spread in front of it, on which my presents were laid. At the side in a little recess stood the king leaning against the wall, having in front of him two children, son and daughter³⁶, rightful heirs to the country. Having come before him and greeted him in the manner of our country, with one knee on the ground³⁷, he having told me at once to rise and bidden me welcome through an interpreter deplored greatly the inconvenience that I had suffered on his behalf on such a far journey and in such weather. He asked me whence and why I came, to which I replied, I came from a country called by the Portuguese Frandes³⁸, which was several provinces

31. DS. (and DB.) "noise of shawms."

32. The Spilbergen diarist appears not to have been struck with the appearance of the ball of audience, at least, he says nothing of it (see *supra*).

33. DS. (and DB.): "captains of war."

34. DS. "his excellency Mauritius of Nassau." DB. "his excellency count Moritz of Nassau."

35. See *supra*.

36. DS. has: "his son the young prince, 3 years old, and his daughter 6 years old." DB. follows this, but puts the ages in words, and erroneously makes the daughter "eight years old." (Cf. *infra*, notes 78 and 81.) The Spilbergen diarist (*supra*,) mentions these children, but does not tell us how old they were. If de Weert is correct in his estimates, the girl must have been born in 1596, and the boy in 1599. Baldaeus says (see *infra* F5) that when Dom Joao died in 1604 he left a son and two daughters.

37. DS. (and DB.): "with bended knees."

38. DS. "Flanders." DB. "Flandern."

confederated together and governed by the nobles of the country, whom we call *los estados*³⁹, under the command of our prince⁴⁰ whose likeness was hanging there. On saying which, there was great gladness among his lords⁴¹, because I recognized the likeness of his princely excellency, since thereby he found the statement of the general Spelbergen, who had been there just four months before⁴², to be true, and that we were from one country; because to that end was the likeness hung there. I said further to him that we were merchants (who had) come there to buy cinnamon, pepper, precious stones and other wares, and to sell ours, seeking the friendship of all kings and princes of the countries and islands of India, in order to be able to trade freely with their subjects, that we had for several years now had intercourse with Atchin, Bantam and the Moulucas, and were great friends of the kings, since we were enemies of the Portuguese, and that for over thirty⁴³ years now we⁴⁴ had warred with the king of Portugal⁴⁵, that we also had commission and command from our prince to assist and help all kings and princes that were expelled by the Portuguese. Whereupon immediately interrupting and breaking my recital, as he not only understands but also speaks Portuguese well, and has no need of interpreter except for honour's sake—he had me told that I had come at an opportune time, and that God had sent me there as to a king that more than

39. The States (general). De Weert seems to have thought that the king, knowing Portuguese, would understand the Spanish term.

40. DS. (and DB.) has: "which were ruled by the gentlemen the states of the same lands, and his princely excellency."

41. DS. (and DB.) includes the king in the display of joy.

42. DS. has "Spilberghen," omits "just four months," and interpolates: "had declared many things, and presented the likeness to the king." DB. follows this, but omits "had declared many things."

43. D.B. "twenty."

44. Instead of "we" DS. has "the gentlemen the States and his excellency's forefather of most praiseworthy memory and his excellency," which DB. expands still further into "...his father of blessed and of most praiseworthy memory Wilhelmus the first prince of Vranien [*sic*, for Oranien=orange], and count of Nassaw, &c."

45. DS. interpolates "and still did," which DB. expands to 'and still waged through his son count Mauritius.'

any others was annoyed by the Portuguese, who contrary to right and reason wished to take away his country from him and drive him out⁴⁶, he begged accordingly that I would execute my commission and carry it into effect as early as possible. To which I replied that there was no doubt that God had brought me there, but it was not by chance, as one says, because I had come there by express command of our prince, who, having heard of the continuous wars that the kings of Ceylon (without knowing of Candy or of ⁴⁷) had against the Portuguese, had sent me there to form alliance and friendship with the king, [and] to promise him help and assistance; but that his majesty well knew that no princes or rulers gave anyone assistance to their own loss,—that we came from so far at great trouble and expense, that if in his country there was any probability of lading, help should not be wanting to him; that he should accordingly arrange to have pepper planted, and every year Dutch ships would come there; that he would now lade me, so that I might immediately sail home and return again with assistance. This he promised to do, on condition that I would wait there four months, because he must have the pepper brought from the mainland, seeing that there was very little pepper there, even though he should sell all his elephants therefor.

Upon this I took my leave in order to go to my lodging promising to come again to his majesty the next day when it pleased him to summon me. But when I thought to depart, the king called me back, and bade ask me how I was so bold that I durst hazard to come so far into his country, without knowing him or having advice⁴⁸ from him and

46. Instead of what follows, to the end of the paragraph, DS. (followed by D.B.) has: "he therefore begged that the vice-admiral would assist him by water, to the end that those from Goa might effect no supply or relief. By land he would go with 20,000 men to seek the Portuguese in their strongholds. To which was answered that the costs of the ships and the men (coming from such far countries) was [*sic*] very great, and that his majesty must make a suitable recompense for the requested help, whereupon the king made many excellent offers, saying also that he was of such a will." This is hardly an accurate summary of de Weert's account, and brings in out of its place a passage that occurs in a later portion of the letter.

47. So in the copy. What word should fill the blank, I do not know: perhaps "him."

48. DS. (and DB.) : "Consent."

some hostages. To which I answered that many reasons had moved me thereto, but that the principal of them were the Portuguese. Being astonished at this, he asked, how that was possible, seeing that I had declared that they were our enemies, and that I also well knew that he was an enemy of the Portuguese, he did not know how he should understand that. Whereupon I immediately replied that this was the very reason, which the Portuguese gave me, to embolden me to come so far into his country, without first advising him of my arrival. I omitted to ask permission, because I was confident that a king that was a real enemy of the Portuguese must necessarily be a friend of our, likewise enemies of the same Portuguese, and that coming unexpectedly to such a king I should be all the more welcome ; that I should also well avoid venturing such in other countries. At this there was great laughter⁴⁹, and the king asked me what were the other reasons that had moved me thus to come to him. Upon which I answered, in the first place, the honour, courtesy and good treatment that he had accorded to the general who had been there before me⁵⁰, who had come thence so freely ; in the second place, that I should be ashamed not to dare venture what another had done before me⁵¹, and lastly, the honour that the king of Mattacalou had shown me on arrival and the good-will that I saw that the common people had towards us. Hereupon the king asked again if I trusted in the people so readily, seeing I had not spoken to the general himself. I answered, yes, as the words of many persons in different places agreed well, because it is not very possible that many persons in speaking do not contradict each other, if the matter is not as they wish to have it understood, the more so in that these people had had no time (not knowing of our arrival) to be suborned.

With this the king well satisfied let me depart to my lodging, where were brought immediately so many pots.

49. By abbreviating the foregoing, DS. (and DB.) makes the laughter seem somewhat out of place.

50. DS. "general Spilbergen." "DB". "general von Spilbergen."

51. DS. (and DB.) omits the second reason.

with all kinds of whey, panades⁵², conserves, fruits and other confections⁵³, that I found the house far too small; also a majordomo with four male and three⁵⁴ female slaves to serve us. When I was in the house, all the principal lords came to visit me and bid me welcome. [The king] also sent me immediately 50 *larins* (which are like pieces of eight⁵⁵) to spend.

Towards the evening the king again summoned me to him in order to speak with me alone. On coming up I found him walking about, having only three or four of his privy council with him; and when I offered to kiss his hands, he took me in his arms and squeezed me heartily⁵⁶, so that he made my ribs crack (I had much rather have been embraced by a pretty maiden⁵⁷), meaning thereby to show how welcome I was to him. He at once asked me if I had no letter of credence from my prince, which having produced,—he had it brought [to him] and a seal of his excellency's⁵⁸ that the general Spelbergen had left with him, with the warning that whoever did not bring such a token was not of our people⁵⁹, with which having compared⁶⁰ mine, and finding that they were both alike, he was greatly rejoiced⁶¹, and at once promised me to make every exertion to lade my

52. Panade or panada is an old name for a kind of broth (see *New English Dictionary*, s.v.).

53. DS. in place of "confections" has "eatables." Ds. omits "whey panades," and has "delicious conserves and preserved fruits."

54. DB. omits "three."

55. After "*larins*" DS. (and DB.) inserts "silver," and in place of the words in brackets DB. has "which are long silver coins" (or "pence").

56. As he had done to Spilbergen (see *supra*).

57. DS. (and of course DB.) omits this parenthetical remark, which was scarcely intended "for public consumption."

58. DS. interpolates "count Mauritz."

59. The Spilbergen diarist does not mention this fact. DB. alters the foregoing to "a letter and seal that he had previously received from his excellency count Moritz."

60. DS. interpolates "and scrutinizing very sharply."

61. Here DS. summarizes a great deal of what follows in the words "saying: if they of Flandres would continue their navigation to his realms, in order to negotiate, all fruits of cinnamon, pepper and other wares should be for them alone, that he would also let them sail to other places and to the mainland and trade with recommendation to many kings, some being of his kindred and others his good friends." DB. follows this, with a few verbal differences. The Dutch version in *Begin ende Voortgangh* has "silk [!] pepper, cinnamon," &c.

ships within four months; he was also sorry that I had sent away my two other ships⁶², because he would have liked to lade them all together. Whereupon I made my excuse that we were destined to Achin, where our general⁶³, with thirteen other ships⁶⁴ was to come; that through fear that the latter should wait for us I had sent two ships thitherward in order to advise him of my arrival, as I did not think that there would have been lading there for all our ships; that Atchijn was our rendezvous, whence the ships were to be sent to various places⁶⁵; that if he could not help me earlier than within four months, it were better that I also went to Atchijn, and come back in four months, or sent another ship, the more so, in that it was winter and very risky to lie on the coast. To which he answered that I need not fear, that I could safely moor the ship, [as] he had anchors and cables enough for me. At this I began laughing, and when he asked me why I laughed, I answered that I saw well that his majesty did not know what ships we had, but imagined that we had *champones*⁶⁶ or junks, that he was mistaken, because I should need to have for the lading of my ship at least 2,500 *baeren*⁶⁷ of pepper; that I had on board 36 large cannon; which he would hardly believe, wherefore I begged that he would send one of his principal lords with me to view the same. At this the king being astonished immediately said that he had not imagined that my ship had been so big; that he did not wish to deceive me or to delay me to no purpose, —that he did not know how to obtain any ladings for me, since the Portuguese had possession of his best land where the best cinnamon and pepper grew; that he could probably procure 1,000 quintals within three months, but for so much pepper he knew of no expedient, that he was no merchant but a soldier, who thought

62. See *supra*. p. 58

63. The admiral, Wybrand van Warwÿck.

64. That is, thirteen in addition to de Weert's ship, the *Zierickzee*.

65. See *infra*, Dr. , and compare the end of this letter, where de Weert points out the superiority of Galle as a central port for the Dutch ships.

66. See *supra*. No. 80, p. 387, note 71

67. Bahars (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.s. "Bahar)."

neither of the building of a house, nor of planting, nor of anything else by which he should be able to make profit, but only how he should protect his country; that no ships had even been there, and consequently he had had no experience in trade, but that his country was as suitable for yielding plenty of pepper as any in India: if he were master of his country, he would cause great plenty of pepper to be planted. As regarded cinnamon it grew of itself in the woods, [and] cost him only the trouble of levying on each village to furnish a certain quantity, desiring no money also therefor. If we would afford him any assistance, he would promise to furnish us every year with 1,000 quintals, and that for ever and aye; and if we [captured] the fort of Punta de Gaela [he would give us] 2,000 quintals, and [if] Columbo, all the cinnamon of the whole country. He would also bind himself and all his successors that they should not be able to sell a pound of cinnamon to anyone in the world, but deliver all to us, and whatever else we might further stipulate. That I should consider the matter, because here was to be go. honour for myself and profit for our country. That with great trouble we sought to build forts in other places that were near his country, against the will of the inhabitants, that he himself now called and begged us thereto. He promised all help: if we were on the coast, he would at once take the field with 20,000 men, desiring of us no more than to prevent by water that any victual came into Columbo from Goa: he could easily press the enemy on land. He would give the captured forts into our care⁶⁸ (since his people were not fitted to take charge of forts), that from there we should be able to send our ships to all quarters, and always take our refuge⁶⁹ in a king who should be our friend and ally. That we would be willing to seize this occasion, because if he were expelled through lack of assistance, such an opportunity would not offer in

68. DS. (followed by DB.) has "into the hands of the states of Flanders."

69. DS. interpolates "in the aforesaid fortresses and" DB. has "fortress."

India in our lifetime⁷⁰, that we would therefore be pleased to hasten and take his affairs to heart, or otherwise he would have cause to complain at our arrival in his country, because the Portuguese would now attack him much harder than before, from fear that in time we might succour him ; that the matter required haste ; that the great trouble and expense that the Portuguese incurred in order to gain his country should serve us as a proof of the value of his country ; that in the whole of India there was not so rich or so fruitful a country, nor [one] so well situated. That henceforth he wished to be called *Hermano en armas de sua ex timo principe dorange*⁷¹, and other similar speeches in order to persuade me—who was only too greatly inclined thereto because of the great profits that our united masters would thereby be able to enjoy for so many years and the honour of our fatherland—to his help. To all of which foregoing reasons I answered him that such as he desired could with great difficulty be accomplished this voyage, that although we had many ships they were fitted out only for trade, and consequently not so provided with men that we should be able to put many men on land ; that it was also uncertain if I should find the fleet still in Achin,—that it might have left before my arrival : that it were better that I should obtain my lading in haste, in order thus to sail home, and from there bring succour. To this he replied that his affairs did not admit of so long a delay ; and that [as] I had come to-day, to-morrow I should rest, and the day after depart⁷². And therewith he took a gold toothpick⁷³ from his neck, set with small garnets⁷⁴, worth about 6ƒ⁷⁵, and hung it round my

70. DS. (and DB.) has "nevermore would such an opportunity occur to those of Flandres."

71. "Brother in arms of his excellency the prince of Orange." The Spanish is faulty, and is de Weerts' version of the interpreter's Portuguese.

72. All the foregoing is much abbreviated by DS. (and DB.)

73. This seems a strange and not very delicate present. The Sinhalese are not in the habit of using toothpicks ; and if this really was one, Vimaladharmas must have acquired the habit while with the Portuguese.

74. DS. (and DB.) omits this clause. The words I have translated "set" is in the copy "gegraviseert," which seems to be an error for "gegarniseert" (lit. "garnished," i.e., adorned).

75. So written in the copy. DS. (and DB.) omits the value

neck and as it was dark, he let me go home, with the command to come to him as his guest the next day.

The third day he had me called to come and eat with him. Having come [there], as it was yet early, he chatted of various matters while walking about (because there it is not the custom to sit on the ground as in other countries: the kings when they speak to anyone, even of their own people, always stand, as also those that are near them). So I begged to see his children; and himself going in, he brought his daughter, about six years old⁷⁶, by the hand, with a gold cup full of wine made from the grapes that grow in his house⁷⁷, and presented [it] to me to drink. Having accepted the cup, I wished to kiss the young princess's hands, at which she being perplexed, since they are not wont to come near men, ran away crying out, and although her father called her several times, she would not come. Having drunk, I presented the cup back again, but he would not accept (it), saying that, seeing that his daughter had run away, I should take the cup with me; and as I refused this, he shut the door in my face.⁷⁸ Shortly afterwards he came again with the young prince, about three years old⁷⁹, on his arm, who offered me his hand and bade me welcome; and when I had kissed his hands, the father requested that I would take him under my protection and be his guardian, and not suffer that he who was the rightful heir to the country (because he had won the mother with the sword) should be driven out of it: the which I promised him to do according to my

76. DS. gives the age, but DB. omits it. (Cf. *supra*, note 36).

77. DS. (and DB.) omits the words after "wine," which are of importance in connection with the subject of the cultivation of the grape wine in Ceylon. (Cf. the not quite clear statements of the Spilbergen diarist, *supra* Br.) Vimaladharmas was apparently pioneer of grape culture in the hill-country of Ceylon, though it is probable that the wine may have been introduced into the Island by the Portuguese sometime before. As a professed Buddhist, the king ought to have had nothing to do with the manufacture of strong drink. It is probable that he acquired the habit of drinking wine while with the Portuguese: whether he still continued it, is not apparent.

78. DS. (and DB.) omits the foregoing interesting details.

79. DS. gives the age, but DB. omits it (Cf. *supra*, note 36).

small power, and to recommend him to my prince⁸⁰. Having heard this, the child drew from his side a little creese, with a silver sheath⁸¹ (if it was by order of his father I do not know,) and presented it to me : at which I was so pleased, that, having nothing else to give, I took from my side, with strap and all that belonged thereto, my sword⁸², which with its accessories was worth over 20 pounds, and [which] I would not willingly have given to the father, even had he desired it of me, and presented it to the young prince ; and although the father somewhat deprecated it, since I had no other for the road, he held it in such worth that it is incredible : he also promised that it should be the first weapon that the prince should use when grown up⁸³. After this⁸⁴ he confided to me how he had won with the sword the mother (who was the daughter of the preceding king and rightful heiress to the country), defeating 800 Portuguese, among them the general with all the captains, and bore as a token of the victory the representations of the heads in the clasps of his anklets. Because when the Portuguese had captured the city of Candij, and had defeated and expelled the King, who was the father of this daughter and a friend of the Portuguese⁸⁵, they brought the daughter, who had been brought up by them [and] baptized, as also the king, and was instructed in their faith, into Candij, with the intention to marry her (who was as yet only 12 years old) to a Portuguese nobleman. But Don Juan Doustria (so the king was called among the Portuguese, and so also he signs his letters—he was also so baptized, although afterwards he became a

80. DS. (and DB.) omits the foregoing.

81. DS. (and DB.) omits these four words.

82. In the copy "geweer," which usually means a musket, but here evidently a sword is intended. DS. (followed by DB.) has "Tydgeweer," side-arms.

83. DS. abbreviates all the foregoing into the statement : "the king saying, were my son old enough, I should have like to let him exercise with your prince." DB. follows this, but with a little more verbiage.

84. The whole of the rest of this paragraph, together with the next two, is omitted by DS. (and DB.).

85. I can explain the Dutch in no other way, but it certainly does not state the fact, since poor Dom Filippe was not driven out of Kandy by the Portuguese, nor, apparently was the father, but uncle, of Dona Catharina (see C.A.S. JI. XX 389, 392).

heathen again) having been summoned by the inhabitants of the country as a defender as being a brave captain, they so harassed the Portuguese that they had to leave Candij, and in their departure they slew them all and took the queen prisoner, whom he married against her inclination, as she did not wish to have him, because he was black and she was white, also because he being a christian had more wives. But nevertheless the king proceeded therewith, and has now these two children by her⁸⁶.

Having chatted on these and other matters, it was time for eating, wherefore the king retired within to the queen, who had the desire to see us eat, standing behind the door, and we were very well treated after our manner at a small table. Having eaten, the king came again to me to chat, until my men had eaten, meanwhile he fasted until we had departed.

The next day, when I purposed to depart, it rained so hard that I had to remain. Meanwhile I went to view all the *pagoden*⁸⁷, which are made not without great art, among which some are five or six fathoms in height, proportioned symmetrically. I imagine that they are made according to the size of Adam, because the length and breadth exactly correspond with the footsteps of Adam, which I also saw and measured, they are $7\frac{1}{2}$ spans long and $3\frac{1}{2}$ broad, they are those whereof Jan Huygen writes⁸⁸, which the king caused to be brought from the mountain into the city⁸⁹.

The same evening I was again with the king, in order to take leave, who recommended his affairs to me in the strongest manner, and begged me that I would only make

86. With the foregoing account of Dom João's defeat of the Portuguese under Pedro Lopes de Sousa, and capture of and marriage with Dona Catharina, compare that given by the Spilbergen diarist, derived probably from the same source (*supra*,); also that in the description of Ceylon interpolated by de Bry at the end of Bree's diary of de Weert's second visit:

87. De Weert here uses the word *pagode* in the (now obsolete) sense of "idol," whereas the Spilbergen diarist almost invariably uses it with the ordinary meaning of "temple" or "dagaba."

88. See Linschoten i, 79.

89. Cf. the statement of the Spilbergen diarist (*supra*, B1). DB. has embodied the above paragraph almost verbatim in the description of Ceylon interpolated by him at the end of Bree's diary of de Weert's second visit.

haste, [and] he would meanwhile (if the Portuguese left him in peace) make about 1,000 quintals of cinnamon, which if I came back with help I should have for nothing, or without help for money. He also presented to me in recompense for my presents 25 quintals of cinnamon and 16 quintals of pepper, and for my kitchen, so he said, five quintals of each though I got none or not much, because they were hindered from coming down by the great rain, and on getting aboard I could not wait for them⁹⁰.

On the return journey the king sent with me his highest captain (who is a Portuguese⁹¹) with 50 or ⁹² 60 men to convoy me and at the same time view my ship; and I was again treated and defrayed⁹³ as before. He also sent me the first two days food from his house, with wine and some confections⁹⁴, so that I was astonished at his munificence⁹⁵.

This is what I could not forbear to write at length to your honor, hoping that it will not trouble your honor to peruse the same and consider somewhat over the matter. Were I to describe in particular all the magnificence and treatment of the reception and on the journey, I should be tired of writing. I place this alone before your honor, in order that you may be able to realize what kind of a king and what an island we could have devoted to us with little trouble and great profit,—a king powerful in troops, a brave

90. DS. (and DB.) has instead of this paragraph, the following: "And as the vice-admiral declared that he would assist him with greater force and to that end sail to Achin in order to find there the other ships of his fleet, and to return, the king was agreeable thereto, presenting the vice-admiral with 25 quintals of cinnamon and 16 quintals of pepper."

91. Manuel Dias D.S. (and DB.) omits the words in parenthesis.

92. DS. (and DB.) omits "50 or."

93. The copy has "geadforyeert," which must be an error for "gedefroyeert" (see supra, note 18).

94. DS. (and DB.) has "wine, food, confitures and other delicacies in great abundance." Here the Dutch summary of de Weert's letter ends, and there follow the statements:—"The two ships *Vlissingen* and *der Goes* sailed on 11th. December a°. 1602 from Seylon for Achin. On 14th January, 1603, the ship *Zirckzee* with the vice-admiral sailed from Zeylon for Achin. On 5th February following the ship *Zirckzee* came into the roadstead at Achin, finding there the aforesaid two other ships." (See infra, D2.).

95. The copy has "magnificence," which may be right.

soldier and much inclined towards us, who every day wishes for once to rule in his country over such people as ours, and even to send his son if he were old enough to his excellency in order there to learn good manners and the art of war, a king, I say, who now offers us even his country and means, —a country as fertile as any situated among all the East Indian [countries] that also yields the cinnamon, which we can now bring into our hands alone, without either Portuguese or Turk⁹⁶ being able to obtain a pound thereof, except a little not very good from Nagapatam, and that for nothing, a country as well situated for a place of departure for our ships as any other could be⁹⁷, from whence one would be able to direct the trade in East India, as the Portuguese [do] in Goa, to the detriment of the Portuguese, and none more convenient, since we have the king of the country and the people friendly to which also all ships that wish to come from Goa and that quarter to Santhorne, Bengaelen, Pegu, Malacka, Achin, must approach, in order to recognise the land, and so set a fixed course⁹⁸, namely, Punta de Galle, which we should have to capture, [and] thereabouts either build or cause to be built a fort, [and] garrison it ourselves⁹⁹, I do not know how we should be able to justify not having availed ourselves of such an opportunity, [and] I doubt, not also that if your honor were here in person you would no longer deliberate thereover, the more so, since now at this time we must not neglect anything anywhere, and even in five or six months shall find no pepper.

I greatly regret that we are so badly provided with men against such occurrences, because we shall have to leave there at least fifty men, the which makes my heart bleed,

96. The word "Turk" here is evidently used to denominate the Muhammadan traders (Moors) of the East in general.

97. In the earlier part of this letter de Weert, speaking of the want of a safe place whence the Dutch ships could sail to all parts, says: "the which we hope to find in Zeylon, whither we were invited."

98. Compare the statement of D. Francisco de Almeida in his letter of September-December, 1508 to the King of Portugal, as given in C.A.S. JI. xix 367. See F2, at note 6.

99. The Portuguese already had a fort at Galle, but it was a very poor one (see C.A.S. JI. xx. 404 note 3.)

so long as we do not yet know where we shall get our lading. Consequently, in case your honor could spare from all your ships fifty men, selecting mostly from those that have first to sail for home, they would be very serviceable to us, the more so, if some among them were somewhat experienced in the art of war : if not, it will not be inexpedient that your honor by the first opportunity recommend this to our masters the directors, so that at least two hundred soldiers may be brought there ; because it were better not to begin than to finish badly. We shall not fail to advise your honor by the first opportunity of the success of our enterprise, so that you may act accordingly¹⁰⁰.

....This first April, 1603 on board ship before Atchijn.

Your honor's obedient servant,

(Signed) SEBALT DE WEERT,

Your honor's Vice-admiral.

100. Little did the writer think that a sudden and violent death and a nameless grave awaited him in the island on which he had set such hopes ; and that the " success " of the " enterprise " would be disgrace and disaster.

ANNEXURE D.

ACCOUNT OF DE WEERT'S SECOND VISIT TO CEYLON AND MASSACRE, WRITTEN SHORTLY AFTER THE RECEPTION OF THE NEWS IN HOLLAND IN MARCH, 1604¹.

....The 8th March, 1603, there came also to Achin three ships of the same admiralship, named *Hollandia*, *Hollandtschen Tuyn* *sc* *Sterre*², and the vice-admiral bought there

1. This is taken from one of the "Documents for the History of the Netherlanders in the East," communicated by Mr. P. A. Tiele to the Historical Society of Utrecht, and printed in that body's, *Bydragen en Mededeelingen*, 6e deel (1883), pp. 222-376. This document is No. III, and is entitled "Discourse" [*i.e.*, narrative] and advertisement [*i.e.*, announcement] of the following ships, [that] sailed from the United Provinces east of the cape *bonae spei*, what kingdoms and countries they visited, how they were received, treated, and what presentations of places, commerces and friendships were made to the admiral, vice-admiral and merchants [and] what new knowledge of trade was obtained by them. All extracted from the papers, letters and advertisements [*i.e.*, announcements,] received the 17th [in orig. "xvii en," but this must be our error: see below] March anno 1604 by the ships the *Eendracht* and *Maecht van Enckhuysen*. [Firstly of the *Haerlem* and *Leyden* under van Neck, than of the *Alckmaer* and *Witten Leeuw* under van Heenskersk]. Finally of the fourteen ships and yacht, over which is admiral Wybrandt Warwÿck, whereof three sailed in the year 1602 on 30th March from Zealand, and the rest on 17th and 18th June anno aforesaid from the Texel and the Maas." After describing the doings of the ships under van Neck and van Heenskerck, the writer says: "Coming further to the 14 ships and a yacht," and he then proceeds to give a summary account of de Weert's first visit to Ceylon, taken, as internal evidence proves, from de Weert's own narrative, in his letter of 1st April, 1603, as given above (Cr). Then follows this account of de Weert's second visit and massacre, which, though it contains few points of importance that are not related in the fuller narratives of Bree, and Rycks, I here give, as it embodies the earliest information received in Europe of those events. Spilbergen's ships, the *Schaap* and *Lam*, arrived in Holland in company with the *Eendracht* and *Maegt van Enckhuysen* on 24th March, 1604, but the writer of this summary does not seem to have had access to the journal of Spilbergen's voyage. The *Hollandsche Tuin* with Bree's very detailed journal did not reach home until December, 1604 or January 1605, and it was not until June, 1607, that the *Hollandia*, with Jacob Rycks and his diary, returned to Holland. A comparison of this summary, however, with Bree's journal reveals the curious fact that in places the wording is identical (see the references in the following notes). How to explain this I know not, except on the supposition that a copy of the first portion of Bree's journal was sent home by the *Eendracht* or the *Maegt van Enckhuysen*.

2. See *infra*, D2, note 21.

of the general Spilberghen a boat of 60 lasts burden ³, so that on 1st April, 1603, he returned again with seven ships from Achin to Seylon, where on the 25th April having come into the road before Batacalou, he sent his letters to Candij to the king, which were handed to his majesty in the leaguer before Mareswalbari ⁴, who in reply begged that the vice-admiral would come first to Candij and from there to Ventane, in order there to speak with the king, the which (through fear of losing much time) was by the ship's council found not advisable ⁵, and in the meantime from the 16th to the 21st May, they captured four Portuguese ships, whereof the king having been acquainted with all diligence, he was greatly delighted thereat, informing the vice-admiral that he himself would come to Batacalou in order by word of mouth to discuss everything and to see the captured Portuguese. While on the way to Batacalou the king sent divers messengers and also two letters to the vice-admiral, wherein his majesty among other things desired and begged for the sake of God and his princely excellency not to let the Portuguese ⁶ go before his arrival, but that they should be delivered over captives or as slaves to him ⁷. But the vice-admiral had set free the Portuguese on previous promises and given them a passport signed with his own hand, thinking that he could easily excuse this to the king ⁸. The last of May the king arrived near Battecalouwe ⁹, whither the vice-admiral, the ships' council and two companies of sailors set out on the 1st June to meet his majesty, receiving each other friendly, the vice-admiral requesting that his majesty would be pleased to come in the afternoon to the shore and inspect the ships. Thereupon the king answered that this was inconvenient for him that day, but that next day he would come to the shore and then to the ship, wherefore

3. See *infra*, D2.

4. Sic, for Manicrawari (Manikkadawara). see *infra*, D2. s.d. 13th May.

5. See *infra*, D2, s.d. 13th May.

6. In orig. "passeren."

7. Cf. *infra*, D2. s.d. 25th May.

8. See *infra*, D2, s.d. 28th May.

9. Cf. what follows with the account in Bree's diary *infra*, s.d. 31st May, et seq.

the vice-admiral (at the command of the king) commanded the most of his men to depart on board ship, wishing to keep by him only one from the council¹⁰, one of the assistants¹¹, and 6 or 7 musketeers, commanding that the rest should come again to the shore on the following day in like order. Notwithstanding this some of the sailors (contrary to the command) remained here and there in the taverns on land. After the departure of the men, the king and vice-admiral being in debate about coming on board ship, the king answered, "you have required me [to come] from Candi to Ventane; from there at your pleasure I have come 30 miles further to Batacalou, [and] being here you are not yet satisfied, but require me to come to the shore and from the shore on board ship; such a request is to me suspicious." Whereupon the vice-admiral is said to have answered⁶. If the king would not trust him [so far as] to come on board ship, that then he with his ships would leave not for Punta Galle but for home. At which answer the king was so enraged that he commanded the *Modlear*, a Portuguese renegado, to bind the vice-admiral and thereafter to kill him and all other Dutch. From which command the vice-admiral and about 49 men besides were killed. But it is surmised by some persons of the fleet, that this murder did not have its origin in the aforesaid answer; as the king had before that informed the vice-admiral by letters: "If you release the Portuguese, I shall hold you as no friend." The ships remaining there a certain time longer, the inhabitants meanwhile came every day on board under the signal of the white flag¹². The king of Candi also sent his ambassador Arathes¹³ with letters, seeking a renewal of friendship and peace, exculpating himself of the deed done [by asserting it] to have happened through misunderstanding on both sides. But the ships' council did not accept such excuses, and let the matter rest there¹⁴. From there the ship *der Goes* sailed for Bantam: the three ships *Vlissinghen*, *de Sterre* and *der*

10. Thomas of Tongerlo? (see Bree, *infra*, s.d. 1st June).

11. Hendrick Lendgies? (see Bree, *infra*, s.d. 1st June).

12. Cf. *infra*, D2, s.d. 20th June.

13. A misreading for "arache" (see *infra*, D2, s.d. 11th June.)

14. Cf. *infra*, D2, s.d. 16th June.

Hollandtschen Tuyn for Achin, the remaining three *Zirckzee*, *Hollandia* and *Het Boot* for Negapatam and along the coast of Choromandel¹⁵. The other eight ships named *Mauritius*, *de Sonne*, *Mane*, *Nassau*, *Maecht van Euckhuysen*, *Eendracht*, *Erasmus*, *Rotterdam* and the yacht *het Paepegaeytgen* came before Bantam the 29th April Anno, 1603¹⁶. Likewise also there arrived there from Seylon the 13th August anno, 1603 the ship *der Goets*¹⁷. The aforesaid 9 ships and the yacht were destined and some sailed for divers quarters, to wit: *Erasmus* and *Nassau* the 6th June, a^o 1603 for China; *de Maecht van Euckhuysen* and *d'Eendracht* fully laden with spiceries the 29th August, 1603, for Holland, which by the blessing of the Almighty arrived safely; *Mauritius* and *Rotterdam*, having been fully laden with spiceries at Grisse and next at Bantam, were destined for Holland; *de Sonne*, *Mane*, *der Goes* and *het Papegayken* were destined for the Moluques and Banda, and [in the event of] not getting their cargo there, for China. May the Almighty Holy God be pleased to guard them together and bring them with prosperity to their fatherland.

ANNEXURE D2.

DIARY OF JAN HARMENSZ BREE.

Jan Harmensz Bree was upper-merchant on board the *Hollantse Tuyn*, one of the three ships detached by van Warwijck from his fleet after passing the Cape, and despatched to Achin to join the three vessels under de Weert. Hence he gives no account of de Weert's first visit to Ceylon; but of the second, and disastrous, expedition he has left a detailed and most valuable description. The original diary kept by Bree to within a short time of his death is no longer extant; but a copy of it seems to have fallen, soon after the return to Holland (at the end of 1604 or beginning of 1605) of the above-named ship, into the hands of the brothers de

15. See *infra*, D2. s.dd. 11th and 20th June.

16. See *infra*, D2.

17. See *supra*, Br. s.d.

Bry of Frankfort, who were then bringing out in parts their famous collection of voyages. Fearing apparently that they might be forestalled by their rival Hulsius¹, the de Brys published in 1605 a slightly abridged translation of Bree's journal, preceded by a translation of the voyage of van Neck (1600-3)², in small quarto form³, under the title of *zwo vuderschiedliche neue Schiffarten, Nemlich, &c.*, and illustrated with eleven plates (all probably imaginary), one of which depicts de Weert's reception by the "king" of Batticaloa and the feats of the juggler, and the other the massacre of de Weert and his companions. On the back of the last page is a note by the publishers, apologizing for the misprints and other errors in this hastily issued preliminary edition. The preface to this edition differs from that of 1606, and, as I have said, portions of Bree's journal are omitted⁴: otherwise, except for slight variations in spelling, and the correction of some misprints and the perpetration of new ones, the matter in the second edition appears to be identical with that of the first⁵. This second edition, issued in 1606, is in folio form, and bears the title *Achter Theil der*

1. In his *Achte Schiffart* (Frankfort, 1605) Hulsius gives a summary of the Holland and Zealand voyages to the East India, from 1599 to 1603. In cap. xviii. (p. 53) he gives the names of the 15 ships that sailed in 1602, but does not even mention de Weert. He says:—"Zierichzee, Vlissing, Ter Veer [*sic*!] sailed for the kingdom of Achem, situated in the island of Sumatra," but there is not a word about Ceylon.

2. In this year they also issued in the same form a preliminary edition of their translation of the Spilbergen journal. Of this extremely rare edition there is a copy (wanting the plates) in the Grenville Library of the British Museum.

3. The British Museum possesses two copies of this very rare edition,—one, imperfect, in the Grenville Library, the other, perfect in every particular. (The latter contains a note on the flysheet by the well-known American bibliophil, Mr. Henry Stevans, saying that he had seen only one other copy in that condition). Tiele appears to have been ignorant of this edition and that of Spilbergen mentioned in the previous note: at any rate he does not mention them in his *Mémoire Bibliographique sur les Journaux des Navigateurs Néerlandais*.

4. The part of Bree's diary omitted covers the entries from 20th June to 15th, July (see below under those dates): The last paragraph of the description of Ceylon interpolated by the edition is also wanting in the first edition.

5. I have compared only the portions of Bree's diary relating to Ceylon: the journal of van Neck's voyage I have not looked at.

*Orientalischen Indien, begreifend... Darvach Ein Historia, so von Johan Herman von Bree, Obersten Handelsmann auff dem Schiff der Holländische Zaun genannt, in Gleichmessiger Rayse von An. 1602. biss in An. 1604. auffgerechnet worden. Alles auss Niderländischer Verzeichnis in Hochteutscher Sprache beschrieben, Durch M. Gotthardt Artus von Dantzic*¹ .. The translator 'Artus' was a somewhat voluminous writer², and was at this time employed by the brothers de Bry in translating for them various Dutch and other voyages into German and Latin. Some of his translations contain ludicrous blunders³, but, so far as one can judge in the absence of the original⁴, his rendering of Bree's journal appears to be pretty accurate. The editors of this translation have supplemented Brees' narrative with information from other sources, the most notable addition being, as I have mentioned, already⁵, a translation of the summarized account of de Weert's first visit to Ceylon, as given in the "Discours advertentie," &c. Though not differentiated in any way from the journal proper, it is fairly easy to distinguish these additions and interpolations⁶. In their address "To the Reader" the editors say:—"These two [narratives of voyages] also do not accord badly with the foregoing seventh part of the *Oriental Indies*, accomplished by the admiral Spielbergen, of whom mention is made in these histories also, since they all three treat of almost the same regions and kingdoms, although they did not all succeed equally well in their visits to these. For although the admiral Spilbergen was in great favour with and highly honored by the king of Candy, and the said king also showed the admiral

1. *Eighth part of the Oriental Indies, comprising... Thereafter a History, as noted down by Johan Herman von Bree, chief merchant on the ship called the Holländische Zaun, in the course of the voyage from the year 1602 to the year 1604. All transcribed from the Dutch record into the German language, by Mr. Gotthardt Artus of Dantzic.*

2. See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* i. (1875) 613, where the writer (Kelchner) says: "A.'s other works, his... translations from the Dutch, &c. (cf. Adelung) are today no longer of value."

3. Specimens of these are given by Tiele (op. cit. passim). see also infra.

4. That this has been lost is greatly to be deplored.

5. Some of these are noted below.

von Neck all friendship and good-will¹, and also received the vice-admiral Sebalt de Weert at first well, yet in the end the said vice-admiral Sebalt de Weert in this last voyage paid for the banquet, and had with his men to bite the dust."

It was perhaps owing to the discreditable circumstances connected with this expedition of de Weert's to Ceylon that no account of it appeared in Dutch until 1644, when, in his valuable collection of voyages entitled *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenigde Nederlandische Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*², Isaac Cornelin of Amsterdam printed a translation, from the German of Artus, of Bree's journal, including some of the German editor's additions, but omitting some, and adding several items of information from Dutch sources³. This Dutch translation (of a translation⁴) is on the whole fairly accurate, though in some places the translator has misunderstood the German, and here and there he has abbreviated somewhat⁵. An English translation, by Mr. F. H. de Vos of Galle, from this Dutch version, of the portions describing de Weert's two visits to Ceylon appeared in the *Orientalist*, iii, 68-75, 89-95. As, however, this translation does not represent the Dutch version with perfect accuracy, I have thought well to give a fresh translation, as literal as possible, from the old German version of Artus, appending footnotes where they seemed to be required for the better understanding of incidents described and statements made in the journal and the interpolated matter.

1. This is a strange blunder. Jacob van Neck never went to Ceylon at all. The writer is evidently confusing the king of Kandy with the king of Achin, who received all the Dutch commanders favourably. (cf. *infra*).

2. Regarding this collection see Tiele, *op. cit.* 9-15.

3. As regards these see Tiele, *op. cit.* 168-9. See also *infra*.

4. The fact that Commelin, in whose collection many voyages appeared for the first time, had to depend on the German version of Artus for an account of the voyages of van Warwÿck and de Weert justifies us in the belief that even then the original ms. of Bree's journal had disappeared.

5. Some of these errors &c. are noted below.

DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORY AS RECORDED BY JOHANN HERMAN VON BREE¹, A NATIVE OF THE DISTRICT OF LUYK², CHIEF MERCHANT ON A SHIP CALLED THE *HOLLÄNDISCHE ZAUN*³ ON THE JOURNEY TO THE ORIENTAL INDIES, FROM ANNO 1602 TO ANNO 1604, WHEN HE ENDED HIS LIFE⁴.

The three ships⁵ from Seeland were ordered to sail to the island of Zeylon, and further to Achin situated in Sumatra⁶.

....So that with the divine help they⁷ arrived on 10th March [1603] in the harbour before Achin. The ships *Hollandia* and *der Stern*⁸ had arrived there two days before the *Holländische Zaun*⁹. They found there besides three ships of their company, that had sailed from Seeland the last of March [1602], about two-and-a-half months before

1. Tiele (op. cit. 168) calls him Jan Harmensz Bree, which it is to be presumed, was his real name.

2. Probably Linksgestel in North Brabant.

3. The *Hollantse Tuyn* (Dutch Garden). Artus everywhere translates the names of the ships into German unless they bore place-names. I have thought it better to retain his forms of the names.

4. Near the end of the diary, under 7th April, 1604, we read:—"But Johann Hermens, who had hitherto noted down this history had fallen into a great illness, from which he eventually died, and because he had little more opportunity and desire to describe his voyage further, and to continue with the history, we will here add the continuation of it from that of the honorable Frantz von Steinhaufer, who took the place of the abovesaid Johann Hermens." Then almost at the close we are told that on the homeward voyage many died of dysentery among whom also Johann Hermanns upper-merchant describer of this history, was one, who died on 1st June in the year 1604.

5. These were, the *Zierikzee*, Sebald de Weert, clerk, afterwards vice-admiral, Govert Jansz, skipper; the *Vlissingen*, Jan de Decker councillor, Laurens Frans van Vlissingen (or, of Flushing) skipper; *Der Goes*, Martin Jelis Spanjaert skipper.

6. They sailed accordingly on 31st March, 1602, the other 12 vessels under Wybrand van Warwÿck not leaving until 17th June.

7. That is the Dutch on board the *Hollantse Tuyn*, on which ship the diarist Bree was.

8. *De Sterre* (the star).

9. These three ships had been detached from his fleet by van Warwÿck on his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, and dispatched in advance to Achin to join de Weert's ships, the admiral with the rest of the fleet proceeding to Bantam, where he arrived on 29th April, 1603.

them, and also two ships of Moucheron's¹⁰, namely, a small pinnace and a skiff¹¹, under the gubernation of Jörgen von Spielbergen, who had already been 22 months away from Holland¹². In addition they found there three or four Turkish¹³ ships from the coast of Negapatam, besides a small Portuguese ship, lying in the river. The three ships from Seeland had refreshed in the bay of Antongil¹⁴, and had sailed from there to the island of Zeylon, to a town called Matecalo, because they had learnt that the two ships of Moucheron's had also been there¹⁵.

¹⁶The vice-admiral Sebald de Weert had gone up from there with six elephants several days' journey, about 40 miles inland, to the city of Candy to the king of the place, to whom for the most part all other kings and princes of this island are subject, where he was then received right nobly after the manner of the country because the king had previously learnt that their people were also enemies of the Portuguese. As indeed the abovementioned Spielbergen had also been there, who had left with the king the portrait of his excellency Count Moritz, besides four persons of his people, and had afterward departed from there in good friendship.

10. Balthasar de Moucheron, a leading merchant of Amsterdam (see introduction).

11. These were the *Schaeß* and the *Ram* apparently: the *Lain* had been hired by the English on its arrival at Achin (see supra, B1, note 144) and was at this time still in their service.

12. See introduction.

13. See supra, C1, note 99.

14. On the north-east of Madagascar.

15. This is somewhat puzzling, since it is not said whence de Weert's ships obtained this information. It could not have been from letters left by Spielbergen at Antongil Bay, since none of his ships called there (though Guyon Lefort put into St. Augustine's Bay on the south-west of Madagascar). Perhaps it was from letters left at the Cape that de Weert learnt of Spielbergen's intention of going to Matecalo. Or he may very well have learnt of the project before leaving Holland. In any case he could not possibly have ascertained before arriving at Matecalo that Spielbergen had actually been there (cf de Weert's statement in his letter of 1st April, 1603, supra). This is probably a blundering interpolation of de Bry's.

16. I am not sure whether this paragraph is by Bree, or whether it is an interpolation of the editors, written before it was decided to give a detailed account of de Weert's first visit. The latter supposition seems more probable.

¹⁷This journey of the abovementioned Sebald de Weert will moreover be described more fully, and is in substance shortly as follows:—That he arrived on 28th November, Anno 1603¹⁸ off the island of Zeylon,....

.....
¹⁹The two ships *Vlissingen* and *die Gauss*²⁰ sailed on 11th December A.n. 1602 from Zeylon for Achin. On 14th January, Anno 1603 the ship *Zirricksee* with the vice-admiral sailed from Zeylon for Achin, and on 5th February arrived in the harbour there before the town, where he found the abovementioned two other ships. On 8th March there arrived there two other ships, and on the 10th following several more of the same company, namely, *Hollandia*, the *Holländische zaun* and *Stern*²¹. Which when they came in there, they were forthwith informed of this great friendship and promise of the king's, namely, how he had offered to present all the fortresses of the Portuguese to the Hollanders, provided they would help his majesty to expel the former therefrom, because he let it be understood openly that his only hope and trust was, to be freed from the Portuguese with the help and assistance of the Hollanders. But because at this time no lading for the ships was to be got, since it was out of the season, the king said that he would not delay or hinder them, but that they should return after some months, and he would deal with them quite honestly and uprightly, nay, what was even more, if they were able to render him a considerable help against the Portuguese, he would allow to fall to their share every product that was to be found there, and ask no payment therefor.

17. Here follows the lengthy interpolation by the de Bry's of the account of de Weert's first visit to Ceylon, translated from the Dutch summary of 1604 (see *supra*, introduction to C1.)

18. Both editions have this error.

19. This paragraph is evidently an interpolation of the editors. The first portion is from the Dutch summary (cf. *supra*, C1, introduction).

20. This is one of Artus's absurd blunders, which he repeats throughout. The real name of the ship was *Der Goes*, from the town in Zealand, and had nothing to do with a *goose*. Curiously enough, the Dutch translation in *Begin ende Voortganch* perpetuates the error.

21. In taking over this sentence from the Dutch summary de Bry or Artus has altered it so that its statements are erroneous (cf. *supra*, D1, and see note 23 below).

The vice-admiral had at the request of the king left with him two of his men²², and thus parting in friendship from him, he came to Achin, where also on 10th March arrived the other ships, as mentioned.....²³.

²⁴The 20th March, as the Hollanders had learnt that they would have little hope of obtaining pepper within six or seven months, they thought well to take their leave of the king in the friendliest manner, and to ascertain actually how much pepper might be available there at that time. So in the afternoon they proceeded to the court, where they seated themselves in their wonted place; but the *sabandar* came to them, asking them what was their desire. Thereupon the vice-admiral gave him to understand how they had resolved to sail with all six ships from there to Zeilon, and therefore desired to know how much pepper might be available there towards the season, in order that they might act accordingly. The *sabandar* said, they might confidently leave at least two ships there, since there was lading enough available for them there. Thereupon answered the vice-admiral, that he had promised and given his word to the king of Zeilon that he would render him help against the Portuguese, and it was therefore necessary that they repaired

22. Apparently another of de Bry's blunders: de Weert in his letter says nothing about leaving any men behind in Ceylon. Probably de Bry was confusing the two left by Spilbergen.

23. The Spilbergen journalist says:—"The 8th ditto [March, 1603] there arrived in the roadstead of Achien three ships from Hollandt, two of them of Amsterdam, namely the ship *Hollandia*, on which the clerk was Melchior de Voghelaer, the other the ship the *Ster*, the clerk claes Symonssz Meebael, the third the *Hollantschen Tuyn* of Enchuysen, the captain on which was Jacob Pieterssz. The aforesaid three ships on coming into the roadstead respectfully struck their flags, and at once [the commanders] went on board the ship *Zierczee*, in order to find the clerk Sebault de Weert, who was not on board, but soon came with our general, pledging one another and bidding one another welcome. The three aforesaid clerks from Hollandt brought the confirmation of [the report] that the companies of Hollandt and Zeelant were united, and also showed letters and orders to the effect that Sebault de Weert was made vice-admiral of the ships in East India, over which Heer Wybrant Warwyck was now in command. The good order rejoiced everyone, because it was needful that on the three ships of Zeelant a head should be nominated, since there was already there no little unwillingness and jealousy, because in the ships of Zeelant all the three clerks and skippers whom they called captains stood in one grade."

24. Here we return to Bree.

to him with all six ships, in order that they might have their whole force together....

The 31st March²⁵ the vice-admiral with several others went to the old and the young king, to take their last leave of them, since they had resolved among themselves to set out at the first opportunity, and sail to the island of Zeylon. Once more they were afterwards well received and treated, and the king asked to send some envoys²⁶ in their ship to the king of Candy, which they were not able to refuse or deny his majesty, and thus they separated in great friendship, and arrived on board ship.....

.....

The 3rd April, as they had well supplied their ships with everything, and had also provided them with ballast or stones from the island of Poulo Way, and fresh water from the river, they set sail from there about three hours before daylight with their six ships and the yacht²⁷; and also together with them the admiral Spilbergen with his yacht²⁸. They laid their course west north-west, and saw when it was day a little ship following them, which brought to the vice-admiral Sebald de Weert the envoy of the king of Achin to the king of Candy. About midday admiral Spilbergen sailed away from their company, and took his course to Bantam, whence he intended to return to Seeland, to whom the Hollanders intrusted their letters to their friends in their fatherland. But they encountered a north wind, and kept themselves by force west north-west, in the direction of the island of Zeylon. The 4th April they saw a little

25. The Spilbergen diarist says that it was on the 30th that Sebald de Weert, Spilbergen and others went to take leave of the king.

26. Only one envoy was actually sent (see below), but he had a numerous suite.

27. The six ships were, de Weert's three, the *Zierikzee*, *Vlissingene* and *Der Goes*, and the three from van Warwÿck's fleet, the *Hollantsch Tuyn*, *Hollandia* and *Ster*; while the yacht was the *Sphaera Mundi*. There was a vessel of Moucheron's bearing this name, which Spilbergée came across at Great Corsico Island in August, 1601, and which may have come out later to Achin, though I can find no record of the fact. On 26th or 27th March, 1603, de Weert bought the yacht *Ram* from Spilbergen; and he may have renamed it the *Sphaera Mundi*.

28. See Br, s.d.

ship, which they afterwards recognized to be the ship that had sailed from them the day before, and intended to go to Negapatam with two elephants. They had afterwards from the 5th to the 12th perfectly calm weather, with varying winds.

The 16th April on a Wednesday a general day of fasting and prayer was appointed on all the ships, to implore and pray God the almighty that he would grant his favour and prosperity to this their intended navigation and voyage, so that the same might be accomplished and well ended to the honour of his name, and the extension of his benefits, as also the welfare of the country and its freeing or releasing from the danger of their sworn, declared enemies the Portuguese, who day and night attempted their lives, honour and possessions. They sailed on further once more with calm weather almost until the 21st April, during which time, several of their people on the ships were carried off by death. But on 21st April in the afternoon they got a fresh wind from the south and south-west, and thus sailed west north-west, until 24th April, when very early in the morning they sighted the island of Zeylon, which lay some seven miles from them. Accordingly they sailed forward thus until the evening, when they let fall there anchor in 17 fathoms' depth, about a mile away from the land.

The 25th they again continued their voyage, and when they had sailed some three miles further along the coast, they came to the roadstead of Matecalo and there came to anchor. Forthwith there came in the afternoon to the vice-admiral some boats from the land, which brought some fruits, and displayed a great joy, which they had on account of their arrival.

The 26th very early in the morning the vice-admiral, with some 130 well armed men from all the ships, went on land, where they remained in a little village²⁹ not far from the sea-shore, until the very great heat had abated a little. They then marched in good order with banners and drums to Matecalo, to greet the king there, and the vice-admiral

29. I am uncertain as regards the identity of this village,—perhaps Karativu.

sat on an elephant. This town of Matecalo is situated some full two miles inland from the sea-shore³⁰. When they arrived there they gave the king some presents, who received the Hollanders right well and friendly: he had quite a hundred men, furnished with their arms,—firelocks and spears,—who had to fire off reciprocally, although they did not yet know how to manage the muskets very well. The vice-admiral delivered over to the king a letter that he had written to the king of Candy, to inform the latter of his arrival, which letter he forthwith dispatched.

The inhabitants of the island showed themselves very glad at the arrival of the Hollanders, who were lodged in special houses, and towards evening there were sent to them by the king [things] to eat, namely, rice, fowls, fish and honey³¹, after the manner of the country³². They of that place have oxen and buffaloes in plenty, but they do not kill and eat them, and also would not sell them to the Hollanders, because they hold it for a great sin to kill these³³. When then the Hollanders remained the night there, and thought to rest a little, they were so sorely plagued by the mosquitoes, that they could get no rest the whole night through because the inhabitants of that place also, in order that they may remain untroubled by them, must keep up smoke and fire the whole night through at the place where they sleep.

The 27th in the morning the Hollanders again prepared to start, and marched by another road quite a third nearer³⁴ to their ships. The vice-admiral with some others remained on land, because the king had promised to send every day seven deer on board the ships.

The 29th early in the morning before daylight one Thomas of Tongerlo³⁵, commander of the yacht, together

30. Rÿcks (see *infra*) says "a short mile inland."

31. B. V. has "oil" for "honey."

32. Cf. what Rÿcks says.

33. Cf. the statements of Rÿcks, and see further on under 5 and 8 May.

34. B.V. has "quite three miles round."

35. This unsurnamed Thomas was doubtless a native of Tongerlo-lez-Gheel, in the province of Antwerp. He was killed in the general massacre on 1 June (see under that date *infra*);

with some others, proceeded in the vice-admiral's boat towards the north, some two miles, to a village called Polygamme,³⁶ to greet the headman of that place with some small presents. This village is situated across a river about an hour's journey from the the shore. At the same time the boat of the *Holländische Zaun* also, together with the boat of the *Vlissingen*, proceeded to the south, to a place called Panane³⁷, situated some ten miles from there. They also took with them some merchandise and wares, to exchange and barter these at that place as also at other places on the way for fowls and other produce³⁸.

The 30th April at about midday the king of Matecalo came to the sea-shore with nine or ten elephants and some 200 men, all armed with spears, crossbows, bare swords and firelocks. He himself was clad from above in a pure white, delicate cotton shirt, over which [was] a fine cotton or silk jacket, of gray colour, that was fastened down the front with some little buttons. As further regards him, he was wrapped round the legs and privities with a fine cloth; he had on his head a red cap with a seam that extended from the front to the back part, edged with inferior gold, and having his ears hanging long downwards as far as his shoulders, in which were fixed some small golden rings³⁹. The Hollanders on board the ships, when they had learnt that the king was at the shore, to please him they fired on each ship three salvoes, thereupon forthwith the vice-admiral together with some others and a body of musketeers armed with firelocks and muskets went ashore, when they greeted one another, and had a conversation with each other for a long time through an interpreter; and the king said among other

36. Pālūkāmam or Pālugama, a village on the western shore of the lake, about a third of the way up. (See Casie Chitty's *Gaz*). The distance given (say 8 miles) is rather too little. De Jonge (op. cit. iii. 11 in 1, 14), wrongly identifies "Poligamme" or "Poleigamme" with "Billigamme" (Weligama).

37. In all the other places where this name occurs it is misprinted "Panane." The place meant is Pānawa, on the south-east coast. The distance given (say 40 miles) is nearly right. By land the distance is somewhat longer.

38. Cf. Bree *infra*, who differs as to which ship's, boats went to Pālūkāmam and Pānawa respectively.

39. See under the description of Ceylon at the end, note 116.

things that some ten or twelve years before there had been in that place a soothsayer, who had prophesied that within about ten or twelve years a new people would come there, that would expel all the Portuguese from the island : therefore he held it for certain that they the Hollanders must be that new people, since they came as enemies of the Portuguese⁴⁰. He had brought with him for them much fish and some fruit, such as *bonanas*, *coquos* and the like, besides a deer, and in the evening departed again with his men.

Shortly before his departure the Hollanders experienced a strange adventure with a juggler, who was behung with iron chains, and had besides a square copper plate suspended from his neck, on which the Hollanders could see some figures and likenesses of the devil. He leaped about with great vehemence crying and shouting, so that the Hollanders with astonishment desired to see what would come of it in the end. Thereupon he came rushing up to them, laid aside the copper plate, shouted and cried, and made a great turmoil, after which he took a broad knife, like a bow-spear, that was fasten to a thick iron chain, stuck this into himself through the thick flesh of his thigh above the knee, drew the chain through, and let it thus remain in the wound. Once more he leaped about with great vehemence crying and shouting, and by certain signs gave [them] to understand that he would afterwards stick through his neck a long knife that he had with him, but as the Hollanders had not much pleasure in looking on at this, they went away from him ; and it was told them afterwards that he had cleansed with water and washed out the interior of the wound, and had afterwards bound over it a bit of an earthen pot ; and the Hollanders had seen many marks on his legs, from which they could infer that he had done this often before.

The 1st May nothing particular happened, only that they bought daily on the shore from those that were appointed thereto fowls, *bonanas*, *coquos* and other fruits, which were brought thither from the country, and that indeed very

⁴⁰. On this and other like prophecies see my paper in the *Ceylon National Review* for August, 1908, pp 261-5.

cheap, for some little bits of lead⁴¹, small mirrors, knives, &c. The Hollanders also went daily awalking, some to fish, some to fetch fresh water from the wells that were made on the shore, some hither and thither into the country and in the woods to shoot game and birds, and thus awaited the answer from the king of Candy, having to act in accordance therewith.

The 2nd May the boat came back from Poligamme [with our people], who could not sufficiently extol the exceedingly great friendship that was shown them there by the headman of that place, and with what great joy the inhabitants had received them there. The headman had had them as guests, and had entertained them in his house magnificently with many dishes after the manner of the country, when they sat down on cotton cloths, and the headman himself in his own person served them, and had said that the whole country stood open to them, and that he would be heartily glad if the general would sometime visit him, whom he would come to meet at the shore with his people, and thus receive him. When it was evening he gave the Hollanders some [men] with torches, who conducted them through the wood, and brought them back to the shore, when they thus returned on board ship.

The 3rd May the boats that had gone four days before to Panane returned to the ships. This Panane was situated some ten miles distant from their ships up southward, a good bit of a way inland from the sea-shore, where they were then also very well received by the king or chief, who had shown them all friendship. They brought some fowls, *bonanas*, *coquos*, and other fruits, and had also on the way lain at a village on the shore called Tirecoy⁴²; they brought also a little rice with them, that they had exchanged and bartered for lead⁴³, small mirrors, knives and the like.

The 4th May the vice-admiral together with some others went left in two boats for Poligamme, to visit and greet the king of that place, according to his wish. About mid-

41. B.V. has "tin."

42. Tírukkóvil, on which see *infra*, note 101.

43. B.V. again has "tin."

day they saw a ship sailing southwards of them, wherefore in great haste they equipped a boat with men, and sent it after the ship. But it was a barque laden with rice, on which were some blacks or moors, who had sailed from there twenty days before, they could not well understand whither they intended, but gave them the impression that they were minded to sail somewhere towards the Punto di Gallo. A few days before the lightning had killed a man on the above-said barque and thrown another to the ground, without causing them further injury.

The 5th both boats returned from Poligamme, where they were well received by the king⁴⁴, but yet not with such prodigality as had certainly been intimated to them and they had been given to understand. But as the Hollanders could not obtain enough refreshment and food to their liking, and the king of Matecalo did not do justice to his promise, since he had promised that he would have delivered to them every day at the shore seven deer (although he had not, save that he had sent them some deer and wild boar), therefore some of the Hollanders went into the forest with their firelocks and there shot some small oxen, in order afterwards to divide them out among the ships. When the inhabitants learnt of this they were very dissatisfied therewith, and brought a great complaint about this loss and molestation. It is true that the vice-admiral went next day himself on shore, in order to pacify them, as best he could, since their intention was not other than to pay them for them, and to well satisfy everybody, or to pacify them on that account. And they impressed upon them this consideration or thought, that, because they refused to sell these to them, they were obliged themselves to see to it how they could come by them, and afterwards pay them for them; but they judged the matter for otherwise.

The 8th instant the Hollanders again went out to shoot oxen, but the inhabitants were greatly enraged thereat, cried out and took it in very bad part. Consequently some of the Hollanders went to Matecalo to speak to the king

44. Cf. Rÿcks *infra*.

about this and to intreat him, that he would pacify the persons to whom the oxen belonged on that account, since they wished to pay for those oxen. But the king took it in equally bad part, and said, that they had truly come there as friends, but now showed themselves in deed far otherwise, because the Portuguese also had never acted so, wherefore he had liefer lose his life than he should suffer and permit that any longer. There were also some persons who then said that the souls of the oxen that were thus killed went forthwith down into hell, which were a very pitiable matter. At last the king said, in case they abstained therefrom, and would no more act so, it would be forgiven them, and further he would daily supply the ships with rice and other things needed, as much as was possible to him.⁴⁵

The 12th there came to the vice-admiral, the captain or commander of the little ship or *champan*, as they call it there⁴⁶, that the Hollanders had found there, and that was now mostly laden with rice, with the intention of sailing from there at the first opportunity, and to take its course to a place situated in the north of the same island, called Jaffnapatam. He brought with him four fowls and some fruits, which he presented to the vice-admiral, begging the latter at the same time that he would give and let him have a passport, so that he might sail the sea safely as regarded the Hollanders, which was at once granted to him.

The 13th following there arrived at Matecalo five persons⁴⁷ from Candy, three of whom came on the following day to the shore, and so further on board ship to the vice-admiral. They brought with them a letter, that was dated the 9th instant, from one called Erasmus Matsberger, who was a German, and had been left at Candy by General Spil-

45. On the above cf. what Rÿcks says, *infra*, s.d. 6 May.

46. The Chinese word *sanpan* (see *Hobson-Jobson s.v. "sampan"*) has become naturalized in Sinhalese under the form *hambāna*, "a large boat, Malabar vessel, dhoney" (Clough), having apparently come through the Tamil *sampān*. It forms the first component of the place-names Hambantota and Sammanturei.

47. Rycks (*infra*, s.d. 14th May) says "two Dutchmen." (Cf below under 18th May).

bergen, but is now in the service of the united company⁴⁸. This was an answer to the letter that the vice-admiral had sent to the king of Candy. The king, however, was in the camp at Manicrawari, to complete his former triumph and victory⁴⁹, on which account the answer had been so long in coming. The Hollanders learnt further from this letter of the abovementioned Matsberger's the good affection and inclination of the king's, which he once again bore towards their nation ; likewise also the joy and great satisfaction that he had at their arrival : he accordingly asked further that at the earliest opportunity they would proceed with their ships to the fortress of Punto de Gallo, because he would besiege it by land ; with the promise, that all that he had promised his son (so he called the vice-admiral) should be observed to him, and if he were to capture the fortress of Punto de Gallo, he would deliver yearly on board the Dutch ships 1,000 quintals of cinnamon and 1,000 quintals of pepper. The abovementioned Matsberger in his letter also further confirmed and ratified that up to then he had discovered not the least falsehood or deception in the king.

So it was accordingly resolved, that at the earliest opportunity they should sail with all seven ships for the abovementioned fortress of Punto de Gallo. It is true that the king had desired the vice-admiral to come at the earliest opportunity to a place called Vintana, that is situated between Matecalo and Candy, whither he would come to meet him, to have a conversation with him on all matters ; but in order that they might lose no time, it was thought well to intermit that, which was then at once made known to the king, with the intimation that he would at the very soonest opportunity come and beleaguer the abovementioned fortress with some two or three thousand men, wherefore the Hollanders would also use diligence that they might also come thither with their ships at the earliest opportunity, and besiege it by sea.

⁴⁸. The United East India Company having been formed subsequent to Spilbergen's departure for the East (see introduction).

⁴⁹. Unfortunately we have no details of these events, there being a lacuna in the Portuguese history for this period.

The 16th May very early in the morning they saw a ship sailing to the roadstead some two miles distant from them southwards: consequently they forthwith sent three boats towards her, and about midday they also dispatched three of their ships, namely, the *Hollandia*, the *Holländische Zaun* and the *Stern*, towards her. When however the boats came up [to her] they saw that she was a big Portuguese ship, wherefore one boat, that of the *Holländische Zaun*, immediately sailed back to bring the vice-admiral the tidings thereof, but the other two boats sailed on to speak to the Portuguese that they should strike their sail and surrender. Thereupon they immediately fired upon the boats with firelocks and muskets, whereby a man was killed, so that they sheered off again, and kept between the ship and the land, during which time a yacht well equipped with men was in addition dispatched by the vice-admiral. When then this [yacht] came up [to her], and the Portuguese saw the three abovementioned ships also sailing up behind her, they let their sail fall, and forthwith dispatched some among them to the Hollanders, begging for mercy, and that only their lives might be spared to them, which was then promised and assured to them. Thereupon the captain of the ship, named Lopo Alvares, together with a merchant, was sent to the vice-admiral, who at once ordered the ship to be taken possession of and manned with a prize-crew. This ship was a large one, of some 200 lasts, named *Nostra Senora de Rosario*,⁵⁰ and had sailed from Cochin some six days before; she intended to voyage to Negopatan, and from there on to Bengala; she had [on board] some twenty Portuguese and blacks or Moors, besides many women. In the evening they brought this ship to the harbour alongside of the others of the Hollanders, who had learnt that three other ships as well had been fitted out to sail from Cochin for Negopatan at the earliest opportunity⁵¹.

The 17th May they saw once more early in the morning a ship sailing along the coast to the south of them, towards

50. Correctly, *Nossa Senhora do Rosario*.

51. Cf. Rjcks *infra*, s.d.

which five ships⁵² and three yachts or⁵³ boats at once set sail, so that the vice-admiral was left in the harbour alongside of the captured Portuguese ship with only a yacht. They could not reach the ship however the whole day. And then in the evening a gale sprang up, so that the ships could not keep together, or preserve any order.

The 18th early in the morning three ships were still together, namely, the *Hollandia*, the *Holländische Zaun* and the *Stern*, which came back in the evening into the harbour to the vice-admiral, when they learnt the tidings that two Dutchmen had come with letters from Candy and the king. Soon afterwards the vice-admiral's boat also came into harbour, which with the help of the ship *Vlissingen* had captured the same day another ship, but not the same that we have mentioned before, named *Madre de Dios*, also of 200 lasts' burden, in which however there was nothing. They brought with them the clerk of the latter, because the captain was already previously with the vice-admiral, for it also came from Cochin, and intended to sail to Negopatan.

The 19th instant early in the morning they saw once more a strange ship, towards which the ship *Hollandia* and the *Stern* with two boats immediately set sail. When they reached this ship she at once surrendered, and they consequently brought her with them in the afternoon into the harbour. She was also from Cochin, and intended to sail for Negopatan, and thence for Malacca, and on to the Philippine Islands. She was of some 70 lasts' burden, named *Sanct Antonio*, and her captain was called Pedro Dassovedo⁵⁴. the same day there came to the vice-admiral the *Modeliar* of Candy, from whom they learnt of the capture of the fortress of Maniarawari and other victories of the king's⁵⁵. Soon after midday the ship named the *Holländische Zaun* with a yacht or⁵⁶ boat was dispatched by the vice-admiral

52. Rÿcks (infra, s.d.) names these.

53. These two words should come out. The Dutch had only one yacht in their fleet.

54. Correctly, Pedro de Azevedo.

55. See supra. note 50.

56. Again these two words should come out (see note 54 supra). Rÿcks (infra, s.d.) has "two sloops."

to sail to the north of the roadstead, because they had learnt that one ship was still missing, which they supposed to be the same that has been sighted on the 17th, towards which they had indeed sailed, but had not been able to overtake her; it was presumed however that she must have gone to some part of the district of Trinque de Malo⁵⁷, consequently the *Holländische Zaun* was to sail towards Trinque de Malo, and there wait twenty-four hours for her, and if by them she had not been able to learn anything regarding her, she was to return again.

The 20th early in the morning they saw their two ships, namely *Vlissingen* and *die Ganss*⁵⁸, coming in, and bringing with them the captured ship *Madre de Dios*, which arrived in harbour in the afternoon. The ship named the *Holländische Zaun*, which had sailed away the previous day, then sighted a ship, which she chased the whole day and throughout the night.

And when on the 21st they came up with her, they captured her without any resistance, but learnt that the day before the captain, skipper and pilot, together with other Portuguese to the number of twenty, had set off in a boat and sailed away from her, so that only a single Portuguese soldier remained on board, besides some blacks or moors; and the ship was also named *Sanct Antonius*.

The 23rd following the ship named the *Holländische Zaun* came into harbour to the other ships there with the captured Portuguese ship⁵⁹; and the latter was of some seventy or eighty lasts, and had on board two very valuable Persian horses. The Hollanders meanwhile received daily letters from the king of Candy, in which the continuance of his victory and conquest was confirmed.

The abovementioned two horses had been bought for 1590 reals of sight, or rixdollars, for they were worth that much, and were also to have been sent to Negopatan. As regards the goods however that were on all four ships, these were nothing special, although the great roomage should

57. Read "Trinquelemale."

58. Cf. "*Der Goes*" (see *supra*, note 20).

59. Read Rycks *infra*, s.d.

certainly have required a large [amount of] merchandise. They had some sackfuls of wheat, which was very fine, and had come from Cambayen, also some bell-metal, China-roots, some cases of rose-water, and about three lasts of pepper.

The chief reason however why they had captured and taken possession of these ships was the great persecution, molestation and enmity of the Portuguese, which they bear towards the Hollanders, and then, that they wished to satisfy the king of Candy, and show that they were enemies of the Portuguese, although this turned out more to their hurt than to their advantage.

Now when the tidings of the capture of these ships reached the king of Candy he became very glad and joyous, and on 25th May he got ready to journey towards Matecalo, after that he had previously written to the vice-admiral, and begged on account of his princely excellency and for God's sake not to release the Portuguese, but either to kill them, or to deliver them into his hands.

The 28th they received at the shore some fowls, butter, rice, eggs and fruit, that had been sent to them by the king of Candy.

The 29th however, in accordance with what had at first been granted and promised to the Portuguese at their request to release them, together with a ship in which they could get to Negopatan, this was fulfilled to them, and they were released, with two ships, *Nostra Senora de Rosario* and *Sancto Antonio*⁶⁰, on board which all the people were placed, except some slaves, and these desired of their own free will to remain with them. And so these two ships set sail the same day for Negopatan with passports from the vice-admiral, returning thanks very warmly for the great favour and good treatment that had been shown to them the whole time. The Hollanders, it is true, were at first indeed of the opinion that perhaps they might obtain from these ships an experienced steersmen or pilot, who might for a time serve them on the coast of Gallo and Colombo. as also in the bay and on the

60. What became of the other two ships (regarding which Bree is strangely silent) Rÿcks tells us.

coast of Choromandel ; but because they begged and prayed so earnestly to release them, they were also allowed to sail. The Hollanders well thought that this freeing and releasing of the Portuguese would not altogether please the king of Candy ; but because it had been promised them at first, they had to keep their promise, because moreover it would be unfriendly to kill people that were at that time prisoners, and thereby satisfy the desire of the king.

The 30th May they received tidings that the king of Candy would arrive at Matecalo the following day, wherefore the Hollanders made great preparations to go to meet his majesty and receive him.

The 31st there came to the ships another Dutchman, who had left the king the day before, five miles on that side of Matecalo, so that they could not but think that he would arrive at Matecalo in the evening. They received also the same day some various fruits from the king, which he had sent there before him. Thus on all the ships they got ready to go to meet his majesty the following day, and to receive him with all friendship and honour, to which end therefore a large tent was erected by them on the shore, which they fitted out very handsomely⁶¹, to receive his majesty therein, and from there further, so far as that might please his Majesty, to bring him on board the ship to view them [sic] and afterwards to discuss in good faith everything that might conduce to the utility and the advantage of this voyage and of the country.

The 1st June early in the morning the Hollanders from all the ships well armed, together with the vice-admiral and other officers, went ashore, to the number of some 200 men, among them all the drummers, with four drums and two banners⁶². When they came on land, they marched thus in good order to meet the king, because the latter had, it is true, not yet arrived at Matecalo, but nevertheless was also not far from there. Consequently then the vice-admiral

61. B.V. very oddly mistranslates these clauses "also fitted out a *chaloupe* [sloop] magnificently."

62. Compare what follows with the account given by Rycks. (infra, s.d.)

thought it advisable to proceed somewhat further, and so they went on for about half-a-mile further, when they met the king, who had with him some 300 men, besides some elephants. There they received each other well, and afterwards marched together to Matecalo. Then the envoy from Achin delivered to the king his letter, together with a golden *crys* or dagger⁶³. Now after the vice-admiral had spoken with the king a little, he [the king] requested that the Hollanders should all betake themselves back to the shore and on board ship, and return the following day in good time, in the same order and fashion. That they would then together march to the shore, but he desired that the vice-admiral should stay over the night with him with some of his men, which therefore was so done.

As therefore the vice-admiral apprehended no treachery or anything evil, he remained with the king together with some of the chief officials, such as namely, Thomas of Tongerlo⁶⁴, Heinrich Lendgies⁶⁵, and some others⁶⁶. The men however went back again to the shore, but altogether scattered, and without any order, one in front, another behind, so that the greater part reached the shore, who therefore saved and preserved their lives, because the hindmost were all attacked of a sudden and murdered, although some nevertheless escaped, but some fell down and lay for dead, who were afterwards brought on board ships in a very pitiable condition⁶⁷.

The Hollanders on the ships, when they became aware of this sudden attack and murder of their people, knew not what to think, and could not believe that this had happened through or been ordered by the king of Candy, but imagined that it must somehow have happened through a misunderstanding: they had therefore a great desire to learn how matters stood with the vice-admiral and his companions,

63. This is the first mention of the Achin envoy since the notification of his coming on board ships on 3 April, and it is evident that he had not previously met the king of Kandy.

64. See note 36 *supra*.

65. I cannot find what position this man held.

66. Rÿcks says 25 in all.

67. See under 3 June, *et seq.*

and on that account very early the next day sent a youth born in the island on shore with a letter, because they were still in good hope of the vice-admiral and his companions; the boat of the *Holländische Zaun* also went to land in case of getting any tidings of how the affair came about. Meanwhile however came the envoy from Achin, together with two of his company, who had a flag of truce and a letter, which he showed from afar to the Hollanders, who at once went to him in a boat, and received the letter, which was written in the Portuguese language in the name of the king of Candy⁶⁸, from which then the Hollanders learnt that the vice-admiral with all his people had perished. The cause of this this king wished to lay entirely on the vice-admiral, who had wanted by force to compel and inveigle the king on to the ship. He consequently announced that if the Hollanders desired henceforth to have with him his friendship and peace he would be pleased, but in case they did not desire this, but wished to have war, it was not of much consequence to him, they might do as they liked; but they must write an answer in the Portuguese language, for the reason that no one remained or was available that could read their language. These were extremely sad tidings for the Hollanders, and they were sore grieved to hear such a thing of their good friends and brothers.

The envoy from Achin could not say how it stood with the Hollanders, whether they were still living or dead, but said that he himself had fled and had kept himself hidden in the jungle. Others related this in the following manner: that when the vice-admiral had come to the king he had in a friendly way begged or requested that his majesty would be pleased, after the midday meal had been held, to come to the shore and view the ships. Thereupon the king had answered that he was not pleased to do it that day, but that on the following day he would come to the shore and moreover on board the ships: wherefore he requested that the vice-admiral should let his men withdraw, which he had

68. Cf. what is related *infra*, s.d. 3 June. See also Rÿcks, *infra*, s.d.

then done, at the king's request, as apprehending no evil, and had ordered his men to betake themselves on board ship, excepting some commanders and officials and ship's councillors, together with six or seven musketeers. He had however bidden his men to retire to the shore in the same order in which they had come, who however in disregard of this retired in complete disorder, and partly remained going in and out of the taverns of the town. After the men had withdrawn, and the vice-admiral had got into conversation with the king, and further had begged his majesty to come on board the ships, he had answered: "At first you asked that I should come from Candy to Vintana, whence also to please you I travelled full thirty miles hither to Matecalo. But now that I have come hither, you are not yet content, but require me first at the shore, and [then] on the ship: this request of yours is not a little suspicious to me." To which then the admiral had replied: that in case the king did not trust him so as to come on board ship, then he also would not go with his ships to Punto de Gallo, but take his way back to whence he came: at which reply the king was so enraged, that he forthwith commanded the *modeliar*, who was a Portuguese by birth⁶⁹, to bind the vice-admiral, and afterwards to kill him with all his companions. Through which command then the vice-admiral with 49 men besides was murdered and killed⁷⁰. There are however many of this opinion, that this murder and homicide had its cause and origin not in the answer of the vice-admiral, but in this, that he had not fulfilled the command of the king, since he had often bidden and written to him, that in case he should release the Portuguese, he should neither hold nor acknowledge him as a friend⁷¹.

The king's letter, which he had done in the Portuguese language, began in this way: "God yesterday executed right and justice, and this for reasons." To this letter the Hollanders immediately on 2 June replied to the king

69. Manuel Dias (see *supra*, B1, note 51).

70. According to Rÿcks, 47 were killed.

71. Bree, it will be noticed, says nothing of de Weerts' being intoxicated, as Rÿcks and Antonio Martins tell us he was.

in writing, and entrusted the letter to a Portuguese woman, who had formerly been a slave in Candy, and had been set free by the vice-admiral. This woman, when she came to Matecalo, and there learnt that the Hollanders were all killed, and that the king with his men had set off again early in the morning, forthwith sent a man with the letter after the king, who overtook him on the way, and delivered the letter to him, and also at once got a reply from him, which began as follows: "God does justice to those that ask justice of him, and that deserve it from him."⁷²

The 3rd June the boat of the ship called the *Holländische Zaun* went to the land, in case anyone of the Hollanders were alive, to render him help, when they saw sitting on the shore quite naked and bare one of their [men], whom they took into the boat. This was a boatswain of the ship *Vlissingen*; he had his body full of wounds, and had thus wounded lain for dead two whole nights long in the first village, whence he was then carried out quite naked: he said, that very early that morning two men had come out of the village, who had lifted him up in a mat, and had brought him to the shore, whence they had immediately run away, so that they might not be recognized. At the same time another boatswain was recovered, who though sore wounded had betaken himself from the land into the water, and had afterwards remained in the jungle. In the evening came three more persons of the company of the envoy from Achin, as also the abovementioned woman, who brought a letter from the king, from which the Hollanders learnt the lamentable and pitiful tragedy of the murder of the vice-admiral with his companions, up to some 50 persons, the cause of which the king laid solely and alone on the vice-admiral, in that, after he had journeyed 30 miles from Candy to Matecalo, there to speak with the vice-admiral on all things, he would have had him by force to the shore and from there on board ship, which treachery however God had not been willing to allow or permit; he also referred to the captured ships and

72. Cf. the quotations from the king's letters given above with those given by Baldacus, *infra*, F5.

Portuguese prisoners, who, he thought, would have been sent ashore, but whom they had allowed to go away again free and unhindered all together in two ships, which was not proper in his friends, and in case they still desired his friendship and peace, such should be acceptable and pleasing to him, but if not, as they wished, so also would he⁷³.

This misfortune then, that had so suddenly overtaken the Hollanders, they found hard to brook, owing to the loss of so many men, and that now was taken from them all hope of accomplishing anything useful in the island. Because however they were now sufficiently assured of the death of the vice-admiral, on 4 June Jacob Petersen of Enckhausen was chosen in the place of the abovementioned as a vice-admiral, and was transferred from the Enckhausie ship to the ship *Zirricksee*⁷⁴. In the evening they brought another badly wounded [man] from the shore on board ship, and on the 5th following the envoy from Achin together with three other Achinese came on board the vice-admiral's ship.

The 6th June following the king of Matecalo asked that some Hollanders would come to him, to speak with him, wherefore at noon a boat went to land, which took in the two⁷⁵ men of the king's as hostages and in exchange put ashore two others, who went to Matecalo, and took with them their spades or shovels, to bury the dead bodies of the Hollanders that lay strewn here and there on the land.

The 7th instant these two men came back again from the king of Matecalo to the shore, and gave a signal to fetch them back, whereupon the boat was got ready with the hostages⁷⁶, who went back to Matecalo. The Hollanders, when they came on board ship, together with one more of the company of him of Achin, related that the king of Matecalo had strongly exculpated himself from all that the king

73. This seems to be a repetition of the contents of the letter already mentioned as brought by the Achin envoy.

74. Cf. Rÿcks s.d. The ship of Enckhuisen was the *Hollantse Tuyn*. Pietersz did not enjoy his new rank for long, since he died on the homeward voyage in the Bay of St. Braz on 19th September, 1604, and was buried on shore.

75. B. V. has "three."

76. B. V. inserts "three" before "hostages."

of Candy had done, for which he was heartily sorry, but that it had been carried out by the people of the king of Candy alone, in which of course he had no guilt. He consequently begged quite friendly that the Hollanders would not on that account show any enmity to him and his people, with the offer of his good favour, affection and willingness according to all his power. This apology the Hollanders took in good part, it is true, but nevertheless did not believe everything pending further intelligence.

Then when on 9th June they learnt that yet another of their [men] was at Matecalo severely wounded, they sent a man to the king with some gifts to present to the latter, and to bring the wounded [man] on board ship, when one from Matecalo meanwhile remained as a hostage on the ship. He came back however on 11th June on board ship with the wounded [man] and one more of the company of the Achinese envoy; there was also with him besides one that they call *arache*, which signifies as much as a captain, who brought with him a ring of inferior gold, in which were set some small stones, which the king presented to the vice-admiral.

Meanwhile the Hollanders held a consultation, and thought well that the ship named *die Gauss* should go to Bantam, to warn the ships that were there, to inform them of this misfortune, and to admonish them to seek their lading there. The two ships the *Stern* and *Vlissingen* should go to Achin, to load there as early as possible, and the ship named the *Holländische Zaun* should go with these two, for their greater defence or protection against one named Andreas Furtado, of whom they heard that with the *moison*⁷⁷ he wished to come from Malacca before Achin⁷⁸. The vice-admiral however, namely the *Einigkeit*⁷⁹, item *Hollandia* and the yacht should sail for Negopatan, and further to Bengala, as should at some time or other be most suitable⁸⁰.

77. That is, monsoon (see *Hob.-Job.* s.v.).

78. This was an unfounded rumour regarding Dom André Furtado de Mendoca see Gray's *Pyrard*, ii 267 n. 3.

79. B. V., copying this extraordinary blunder, has "den *Eendracht*." The *Eendracht*, which was one of the ships of van Warwyck's fleet did not come to Ceylon at all. The vessel meant is the *Zierikzee*.

80. These arrangements were altered on the 20th and on 13th July (see under those dates).

The 13th June the king of Matecalo sent on board the ships three pigs and a deer.

The 14th an *arache* came to the vice-admiral with an old man as well who could also speak Portuguese, besides yet another of the Achinese envoy's company. And the king sent by these some fowls and civet-balls⁸¹, who went back to land the same day, and on the 15th instant the *arache* again brought a deer on board ship.

The following day, which was the 16th June⁸², a Dutchman from Candy with an envoy and letter came on board ship, from the king, who was very apologetic, and desired anew the Hollanders' friendship, and accordingly swore by his god, his soul and children that they should give him credit, and send a man to him to Candy to speak with him, who should then also obtain a sight of the cinnamon and pepper that was there, with the notification that in so far as the Hollanders would still render him assistance, and help to capture the fortresses of Gallo and Colombo, he would fulfil in every way his engagement and promise, and render a complete satisfaction.

In consideration of this they did not think it advisable therefore to leave this island and abandon it, although they had little hope of accomplishing anything useful at this time, yet, in order that they might endeavour the utmost, they considered it well to dispatch to Candy a young fellow named Jacob Cornelisz, who was an under merchant on the ship called the *Holländische Zaun*, with an instruction and a letter to the king of the following contents, namely, that all the cinnamon and pepper that the king might have should be delivered to them at the shore, along with some officials set over and appointed for it, with whom they might actually deal; and they would accordingly pay cash down for all that they should bring them, either in gold or silver, or in other wares and merchandise: in that case they would accept his friendship. As regarded the fortresses of Colombo and

81. Doubtless some preparation of musk from the genetie (cf. Tennant's *Nat. Hist. of Ceylon*, 32)

82. According to Rÿcks, this Dutchman arrived on the 17th.

Gallo however, they had in part dispatched their ships⁸³, to inform their admiral and other ships that were here and there in India of all that had occurred. Such might yet well take place with the earliest opportunity of the *moison*, since they still had to expect daily more ships from their country, when it would not be difficult for them to deliver the abovementioned fortresses into the hands of his majesty.

⁸⁴The 17th there arrived there a ship, laden for the most part with *arecca*; it was from Bellingam, that lies four miles to the north of the Punto di Gallo⁸⁵, and intended to go to Negopatan, wherefore the Hollanders put on board the ship some Moors whom they had got from the Portuguese ships, and who wished to go to Negopatan. But because she lay quite close to the shore, the king of Matecalo had the sail taken away from her, and the shipman or captain imprisoned, on account of a yet unpaid debt, which however did not amount to much. There then the aforesaid Moors for the most part came back on to the ships of the Hollanders, but however after a few days the ship set sail, and went on her way.

The 19th instant early in the morning the abovementioned young fellow Jacob Cornelisz as well as the other Dutchman that had come from Candy was dispatched to Matecalo, and further to journey to Candy, and that indeed in the company of the aforesaid envoy from Candy, as also in that of the envoy from Achin and his company, who likewise went with them, to ask for his dismissal. There came however at that time at noon yet two others from Candy to the Hollanders on board ship, who once more persisted strongly that they would send a man to the king and these last two letters were signed by the king himself with some very strange characters and letters, as moreover was his custom to sign such⁸⁶.

83. This statement in anticipatory.

84. Apparently through an oversight, B. V. omits this paragraph.

85. For "north" read "south-east," and the distance named (say 16 miles) is about right.

86. The letters were doubtless subscribed with the royal sign-manual ☞.

The 20th they received a letter from the abovementioned Jacob Cornelisz, from Matecalo, in which he announced that only the following day would they set out to make the journey to Candy.

In the evening the two ships the *Stern* and *Vlissingen* set sail for Achin⁸⁷, and the ship called *die Gass* [*sic*] left for Bantam⁸⁸; as regards the remaining three ships however, their voyage was annulled owing to the letter and request of the king of Candy, and a new resolution came to, that the ships *Zirricksee*, *Hollandia* and the *Hollandische Zaun* together with the yacht should stay there until they learnt what sort of a hope they might have as regards their lading, especially also because the envoy from Achin hoped to receive his dismissal at the very earliest moment, and to repair back to them, that he might then sail back and reach home in one of the ships of the *Hollanders*⁸⁹. The *Hollanders* however daily took in fresh water on to the ships, and went well armed in their boats to the shore, there to barter for fowls, eggs, *bonanes*, *coquos*, and other things, which were brought thither in great plenty, now more than before, and they could get them for quite a trifle, such as lead, small mirrors and knives⁹⁰. They kept however as near as ever they could to the land in the boat, to supply their men that went on land with their muskets and pieces of ordnance, because on both sides there was little trust. Thus throughout the four following days the boats brought much from the land, and they supplied themselves to a tolerable extent with provisions. They received also on the 28th from the king of Matecalo once more a deer. On the 29th there were again many people at the shore with a great abundance of fowls and all kinds of fruits, but the *Hollanders* could

87. Cf. *supra*, Dr.

88. The arrival of this ship, the *Der Goes*, at Bantam on 13 August, 1603, with the news of the massacre is recorded by the Spilbergen diarist (see *supra*, B1 at end).

89. In the first German edition of Bree's journal all that here follows, down to the end of the entry for 19 July, is omitted, the editor substituting the words: "After they had delayed there however until 20 July they saw on the shore."

90. Cf. Rÿcks s.dd. 27 June to 13 July. For "quite a trifle" B. V. substitutes "Nuremberg-gewgaws."

not get to land owing to the boisterous waves of the sea, and so they had to return with business uneffectuated.

The 7th July there came an *arache* from Matecalo to the vice-admiral asking for a passport for two *champons* or ships that wished to come from Bellingam to the Hollanders, laden with cinnamon and pepper, to sell the latter to the Hollanders there, a little of which he brought with him as a sample: the Hollanders gave him a passport in the Portuguese language, and he returned to land with it.

The 8th there came three more persons to the vice-admiral with some fowls and *coquos* as a present, who said that three Dutch ships were reported to be lying before Jaffnapatam, since one among them had come from there by land, and as they had a *champan* or ship lying in the river of Poligamme, with which they wished to go to Jaffnapatam, they asked for a passport or permit, in order when they came there, that they might not be harmed by those ships. The Hollanders could not well believe that some of their ships should be there, but they made as if they believed it, and accordingly asked if perchance anyone amongst them would go in a ship that they would dispatch thither: they would recompense him for it, and let a permit follow them immediately for their *champan* or ship. They accepted this, it is true, but said however that they must first let the king of Matecalo know of it, and so would return the following day, and one of them should then remain on board the ship to go thither with the Hollanders. But they forgot wholly and entirely their promise and the coming back.

The 9th July they were told of five *champons* or ships that were said to be lying in the river of Poligamme, two of which were laden with elephants, one with ivory, and one with *arecca*; the fifth however had still to load. This again the Hollanders could not believe, namely, that so many *champons* should be lying there, although indeed they had heard before this that the king of Candy was wont to send yearly as a present to some kings on the coast of Choromandel some *champons* with elephants therefore they resolved to send the yacht *Sphe a Mundi* with the long boat of the *Hollandische Zaan* to the place, to fetch the *champons*

or ships, so far as any of these were to be found in the river, in order that thus their people might the better and sooner be dispatched from Candy. In the evening however they saw a *champan* or ship coming from the south, wherefore they sent off to it the boat of the vice-admiral, to bring it into the harbour beside their ships.

When they came thither and had cast anchor, the vice-admiral caused the chief men on her to be brought before him, who showed their permit, which had been given to the *arache* on the 7th instant, and said that they had come from Mattone⁹¹, which lay five miles north of the Punto di Gallo and one mile's journey from Bellingham⁹²: they had some 8,000 pounds of cinnamon as cargo, which the *Panico mudeliar* (so they called the chief of that place)⁹³ had sent thither for sale, although he was not so much concerned about its sale (since it was very little) as to know and understand what manner of ships and people they were, as he wished to have friendship with them, wherefore also he exonerated himself from what had taken place through the king of Candy, namely, that he had had no cognisance thereof.

They said further that the *panico mudeliar* had under him and in his territory six or seven thousand men, all of whom did not much concern themselves about the king of Candy: therefore if the Hollanders would proceed with their ships before the fortress of Punto de Gallo, to besiege the latter, the *panico mudeliar* would march before it by land; and because there were not more than thirty Portuguese present in the fortress⁹⁴, they would easily capture and conquer it without the king of Candy's previous knowledge. The Hollanders however could not believe this, but imagined that it had been thus put forward by the king of Candy.

91. An error for "Mattore." After this word B. V. has inserted erroneously "Bellingam"

92. Here again for "north" read "south-east." The distances are understated.

93. This was probably Samarakón Mudaliyār (Dom Fernando) regarding whom see *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 165.

94. Writing a few years later, the Spanish captain Antonio Martins stated that there were 50 men in garrison in Gale, of which fort he speaks most contemptuously (see *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 165).

The cinnamon they bought of them, received, and paid for, and they afterwards went to land with the *champan*, and drew it up high and dry, because they had announced that they would go to Matore by land: they would have liked to take with them one of the Hollanders, who might speak with the *panico mudeliar*, but this was not thought advisable. This Matore Bellingham⁹⁵ and the whole district had, as the Hollanders afterwards learnt, within quite a short period, six or seven months before, been under the Portuguese, whom the inhabitants had resisted and risen against, so that the Portuguese had been obliged to retire to the Ponto de Gallo and Colombo, which the Hollanders imagined to have occurred owing chiefly to the arrival of their ships⁹⁶.

The 10th July the yacht *Sphoera Mundi* with the boat of the *Holländische Hoff*⁹⁷ sailed for the river of Poligamme, and the next day after the admiral dispatched his boat to ascertain as early as possible from the yacht what sort of a situation there was round about that river, which returned the following day and reported that this river was about six miles distant from the harbour⁹⁸, where the yacht and the boat had thereupon anchored, so that no one could go out. They had also spoken with some [people] of the place, who had said that there was only one *champan* or ship in the river, for which a permit from the Hollanders had been requested. They also confirm [the statement] that three Dutch ships were lying at Jaffnapatan, which therefore was the more corroborated the longer the time that passed. Meanwhile however the Hollanders lay inactive before Matecalo, and accomplished nothing, except only that they

95. So printed: but there should be a comma after "Matore."

96. Cf. *C. Lit. Reg.* iv 165 note pp. Details of this rising against the Portuguese are lacking.

97. This is a mere variant of "*Hollandische Zaum*," having the same meaning, (Dutch garden).

98. This last word (*Hafen* in the orig.) must be a mistranslation, or else Bree has made a slip. There was no "harbour" where the Dutch ships lay, only an open roadstead. As regards "the river of Poligamme," the distance given (say 24 miles) shows that by that name is meant the northern entrance to the backwater, the so-called "Batticaloa river." It appears to be called "the river of Poligamme," because by it Pálukāmam was reached from the sea. The mouth of the "river is" actually from 28 to 30 miles distance from Karativu.

waited for their people from Candy, and as the latter did not so soon hurry back thither, they could not conceive or think what cause they had for their so long absence, especially as they had not received any letter or tidings either from them or from the Achinese envoy. Because then it did not seem advisable to depart from there before they had got back their people, or at least had received some tidings of them, they thought well, especially as the yacht with the one boat was lying before the river of Poligamme, to send of a boat to Jaffnapatan, in order that they might learn what kind of ships were to be found there. Soon the 13th following the boat of the vice-admiral was dispatched to ascertain this.

Furthermore as much time had elapsed, and they had now lain there inactive three months long, and had accomplished nothing useful, considering also that they had now been separated for seven months from their admiral and other ships, and had received no tidings of them, they resolved not to send any ships this time to the coast of Choramandel and the bay of Bengale⁹⁹, but as soon as they set out from there they would go to Achin, there to learn what tidings there were from Bantam and other places, and to act accordingly. The same day however there came an *arache* to the vice-admiral, and asked for two permits for two *champans* or ships that wished to come from Mattore or some of the adjacent places to the Hollanders with cinnamon, pepper and *arecca*, which they therefore let him have.

He said further however that the king of Matecalo would journey the following day to Tirecoy, a place situated some three or four miles south from there¹⁰⁰, where a great

99. B. V. has erroneously: "they therefore resolved to send a ship to the coast of Choromandel, and to proceed to Bengala."

100. Tirukkóvil seems to have been visited by very few Europeans; and I know of no detailed description of the temple: in fact, the only one that I can find is that by Mr. Thomas Christie, who accompanied Governor North in his journey from Trincomalee to Matara in 1802, and whose notes are printed in Cordiner's *Ceylon* if. He say (p 137):—"Tricoil is a considerable village, at which there is a Hindoo pagoda [sic] of very great antiquity. The pagoda is of considerable size, and built of brick and chunam, but is in bad repair: on the walls there is a great variety of sculpture coarsely executed. It is surrounded with two spacious courts, both of which we walked round, but were denied admittance into the pagoda. On a swamy couch, which is kept in a shed without the courts, there are a great many obscene and unnatural scenes represented by rude carvings in wood."

festival was to be held¹⁰¹, in honour of an idol or pagode there, which festival would last the whole of nine or ten days long, until the time of the full moon, where many thousands of persons would then assemble from all the surrounding places, both men and women and children : wherefore he wished to notify and inform the Hollanders that during that time no or very few fowls and fruits would come to the shore to be bartered. They hold this yearly throughout the whole island in various places.

The 15th following the boat returned from the yacht, which had sailed the previous day in the evening with the boat from Poligamme for Jaffnapatam.

The 20th however they saw on the shore a white flag of truce, at which they greatly rejoiced, hoping to receive letters and tidings from Candy, wherefore they forthwith sent thither two boats, which soon came back to the ships with an *arache* and a Dutchman, who brought letters from Jacob Corneliss, from which the Hollanders learnt that the aforesaid Jacob Corneliss had arrived at Candy the 29th of the past month together with the envoy, but he had not found the king there, who was in his camp at Sytabague, situated some 15 miles from Candy and 6 miles from Colombo¹⁰². After he had been informed of his arrival however he had commanded him to come to him ; and when he came thither he was received right nobly by the king, who had greatly deplored the misfortune that had occurred at Matecalo through a misunderstanding and error, with the strongest promise henceforth to place a great and firm trust in the Dutch nation, and also as soon as possible to load two ships with cinnamon and pepper, as he had then already equipped some elephants with two *baeron* of cinnamon and two *baeren* of pepper to send to the Hollanders, half of which he wished to present to the Hollanders for kitchen use¹⁰³, and the other half as a sample. In addition he requested that another man should be dispatched to him, with whom he might effect

101. Cf. Rýcks, s.d. 14 July.

102. " Sytabague " is, of course, Sítávaka : but for what purpose Vimaladharmā had gone thither, I do not know.

103. Cf. de Weert's letter, *supra*, C1, towards the end.

the sale. All this, as the Hollanders could easily recognise and also very firmly believed, was idle hypocritical talk and promises, wherewith to detain them, in order with their presence to hold the Portuguese in check, and once more at sometime or other by treachery to make use of them : wherefore the Hollanders did not deem it advisable to remain there longer, and allow themselves to be led astray with idle and vain words or promises ; so they were entirely of a mind, as soon as they should get back their man from Candy, whom they now expected daily, to set off again on their voyage, and go to Achin.

The 22nd there came to the vice-admiral one of those that had journeyed with Jacob Corneliss from Matecalo to Candy, who said that he had set out with him from Candy about eight days before, and had left him at Vintana, whence he had journeyed in advance to inform the Hollanders thereof: which however the Hollanders afterwards discovered to be untrue, since he had left Candy quite two days before Jacob Corneliss.

The 24th in the evening the aforesaid Jacob Corneliss came to the shore, and further to the vice-admiral, with a letter from the king, whom he had left in his camp at Sytabague, and had set out from Candy on the 15th instant. With him came the envoy, who had gone with him to the king, also some of the envoy's company, whom he had left all together at Matecalo, and would come on board ship the following day. There were also at Matecalo eight elephants laden with the abovementioned cinnamon and pepper. The letter of the king was nothing else than to detain them (the Hollanders) with a vain hope. There came back again however the same evening the yacht and the boat that had journeyed to Jaffnapatam, which brought tidings that they had found no ships.

The 25th following there came on board ship the *arache* and envoy from Candy together with some from Achin, who had much to say of the king of Candy and to belaud him, as that he would easily furnish two ships with lading, and would send the other two with his envoy to the mainland, where they also would be loaded. They further strongly

urged that the Hollanders would again dispatch some of the chief among them to Candy, there to speak with the king and effect the sale, who would forthwith give orders to collect the cinnamon and pepper from all parts. The Hollanders however, would not allow themselves to be persuaded thereto, owing to the little trust they had, and that they should so often journey such a long way, by which then precious time would be lost. These envoys returned to land in the evening, and said they would come back to the shore the next day with some elephants and a *baer* of cinnamon as well as a *baer* of pepper, which the king had sent for the provision of the kitchen or for daily use; the other two *baeren* of cinnamon and pepper were sent there as a sample, and were to remain at Matecalo until the sale of the rest were concluded so that they might then receive all together. At the same time they dispatched two boats, namely those of the vice-admiral and the ship called *Hollandia*, to the river of Poligamme, to see if they could there get by barter or buy some rice.

The 26th in the afternoon the aforesaid envoy together with the Achinese came on board ship once more, and brought with him the abovementioned cinnamon and pepper: they once again strongly urged that some of the Hollanders should be allowed to go to Candy with them, but they refused this and said that they had determined to depart at the earliest opportunity, and to betake themselves to a place where they hoped to be received and welcomed better and with more truth. Consequently the envoys must return the next day, when they would give them a letter for the king, and so dispatch them.

Those from Achin had before their journey to Candy often said that the deceased vice-admiral had promised their king at Achin that when they came to Zeylon he would advance them some money, to buy some precious stones and gems, up to some 20 *cathy*¹⁰⁴ of silver; but as those in the council of war knew nothing thereof, they considered it to be inadvisable to do this, but since they had brought

104. That is, catties (Malay *kati*).

with them some sulphur from Achin¹⁰⁵, they promised to give them six *baeren* of this, to sell it to the king¹⁰⁶, and to use the money, until they came back to Achin, when the money was to be refunded. So they returned to land, and said they would come back to the shore the next day with some elephants to receive and load the sulphur.

The 27th in the afternoon they returned on board ship, to receive their dismissal and letters to the king, which were then given to them in the Dutch and Portuguese languages, of one substance or tenor. The Hollanders said in addition that they were to inform the king of Candy that, inasmuch as he desired henceforth to keep friendship with their people, and hoped to load two of their ships with cinnamon and pepper, he must collect all the cinnamon and pepper, so that, when any ships came thither into the harbour, he could forthwith deal with them, and he must do this with more truth and uprightness than had been shown to them, because means would not be wanting to them to take revenge on him. So they loaded the six *baeren* of sulphur, and in the evening returned to land. It is true that those from Achin were not altogether well pleased that they were not to return home again with them; but they were not yet dispatched, and it appeared that the king had in his hands some bales of cloth or silk to send over to the king of Achin, for which they must still wait. They gave them a letter for the king of Achin¹⁰⁷, and so the Hollanders all together set sail at noon along the shore to the river of Poligamme, that they might come to the boat there: consequently in the evening, when they had sailed some six miles, they cast anchor before the abovesaid river of Poligamme.

The 29th early in the morning the boat of the ship *Hollandra* came out of the river to go to the ships, and brought some 600 *coquos*; it also reported that two of them had travelled up the river as far as Poligamme, which was about

105. Sulphur is not found in Achin, I believe.

106. For the manufacture of gunpowder, with which to carry on the war with the Portuguese.

107. And this is the last we hear of the Achin envoy and his suite. They probably returned home in a native vessel.

six miles, one of whom was a black or moor from the Portuguese ships, who had remained with them of his own free will, and could speak Portuguese and Malavarish well. These two, when they returned to the boat, had declared for a truth that the king of Poligamme had a tolerable quantity of pepper, which he wished to sell to them, for they themselves had seen a whole house full of pepper. Thereupon the Hollanders thought well to dispatch one of their under-merchants with the aforesaid black or moor to Poligamme to the king, to ascertain what pepper might be there, and these set out forthwith. Meanwhile the boat lay a quarter of a mile up the river before a village¹⁰⁸, where they daily bartered for rice, fowls, *cocos* and other fruits.

The 30th instant in the morning two small ships or boats came sailing to the ship *Hollandia*, which brought some fresh fish with them, and asked to view the interior of the ship, which was allowed them.

In the same manner there came on the 31st in the morning early many boats to the ship, with fish, rice, *coquos*, eggs, fowls, limes and other things to barter.

Soon after this moreover both the boats came out of the river again to the ship, in which also were the Hollanders, who had escaped in the night from Poligamme: these were well pleased that they had got away from there so easily, since they had not been so very welcome or acceptable, for indeed they brought nothing with them; and because they were apprehensive that it would have no good result for them, they made many promises to the king of giving him one thing and another on credit on account of some pepper that he promised to have ready in twenty days, at which time they would return thither, as he said that at that time no pepper was yet to be obtained there. So he had let the Hollanders go, and had given them a *modeliar*, who was to receive what they had promised him. This *modeliar* besides another *modeliar* from the village before which the boat had lain, together with seven other persons, came in a boat to the vice-admiral's ship, and the *modeliar* threw on to and

108. Perhaps Kalladi.

over the head of the vice-admiral a handful of gold cut small, and also put on his finger an inferior gold ring; they also brought with them a small basket of pepper and two pots full of honey as a sample or by way of bait, with the announcement of the very good affection and inclination of their king towards the Hollanders, hoping thus to obtain what had been promised the king by the Hollanders: but they soon saw well that they would get nothing there; so there was given to each one a small mirror, and they returned to land. The Hollanders also sent ashore with them the abovementioned moor, who had said that he had seen at Poligamme a whole house full of pepper, because he had uttered such a lie to them; and so in the evening about an hour before sunset they set sail with a westerly wind, directing their course east-south-east for Achin.

DESCRIPTION OF CEYLON¹⁰⁹.

The island of Zeylon is fairly fertile in rice and all kinds of fruits, such as *bonanes*, *bataas*, *ananassen*, limes, oranges, &c., on the coast it is true there is not much, but further inland there is a great abundance and quantity of *coquos*, fowls, eggs, deer, wild boars, oxen and buffaloes, &c. However as regards the oxen and buffaloes, one dare not kill or slaughter them at all there, nay they also would not sell these to the Hollanders, as they hold such for a great sin; they use them only for work, and when any of them die of themselves, they are accustomed to bury them¹¹⁰. The best cinnamon grows in this island, especially around Colombo; there is also pepper, which is very good; much wax is also found there, and various precious stones, in particular rubies. The inhabitants there are heathens and idolaters; they have everywhere in the country many idols,

109. B. V. omits what follows, and says:—"Here it would not be out of place to describe the island of Zeylon, but as this has been done in the foregoing voyage under the command of Joris van Spilbergen, we will therefore refer the reader thereto, and proceed with our begun description."

110. Cf. Rycks.

which they call *pagodes*¹¹¹—these are images sometimes of men, but sometimes of other animals, with which they make very much ado, and hold many great festivals to honour these, and that indeed at various times of the year, with dancing, singing, leaping, and much playing of shawms and other instruments.

¹¹²The Hollanders saw in the town of Candy idols of five or six fathoms high, well proportioned and ingeniously made, which they held to be made after the measurement of Adam, since the length and breadth of the feet agree wholly and entirely with the footstep of Adam that the king had caused to be brought into the town from a mountain that was situated not far from there: they are seven and a half spans long, and three and half broad¹¹³. They said it was the footsteps of the first man.

All these idols or images have each their fixed attributes and power the one over the fruits of the land, the other over the rain, others over the wind and tempest at sea, and so forth; and they say that they are set or placed by God over these, and have obtained such power; they acknowledge and do not deny that there is one God, who has made and created everything; they burn their dead before and in the presence of their *bramenes* or priests, with many ceremonies, in their best clothes, of which they have very few, since they go about naked, except for a cotton cloth wrapped round the private parts¹¹⁴. As to the people that dwell near the sea, they seem to be Malavars, and also use the same language, and for the most part long hanging ears with big holes, in

111. This is, of course, a gross error, the word *pagode* being unknown in Ceylon until the Portuguese introduced it, and certainly neither the Sinhalese nor the Tamils described either their images or their temples by such a word. (Cf. de Weert's letter supra, Cr, note 49).

112. The statements in this paragraph are taken over from de Weert's letter.

113. Both the first and the second editions have "long." Sá e Menezes (*Reb. de Cey.* 16), describing Adam's Peak, speaks of a slab in which is a human foot-print "somewhat larger than the ordinary ones, as states Diego de Conto from sure information: though others make it three spans in length, and the Calvinists, with their wonted deceit, make it seven." The reference is evidently to this passage.

114. Cf. Rycks infra.

which are some rings of lead, copper, or gold, according to opportunity. The children have for the most part large heavy leaden rings hanging in their ears, that they may in time acquire long ears, which with them is a great beauty and peculiar ornament¹¹⁵. These people have their kings at Panane, Matecalo, and Poligamme, all of whom are subject to the king of Candy, who is a great and sworn enemy of the Portuguese.

¹¹⁶How the present king came to the throne, of this the Hollanders received the following account. Fifteen miles from Candy, and six miles from Colombo, lies a town named Sitabague, the king of which about thirty years before became very powerful and warred with those of Colombo, and also with the king of Candy. When he had conquered the town of Candy, and got possession of the whole country, the king of Candy, with a little daughter who was still a child, and this present king, who was then quite young and was the son of a *modeliar*, fled to Manar, and placed himself under the protection of the Portuguese. From there the boy was sent to Goa and made a Christian, being called by the name of Don Juan de Austria. Afterwards he came to the fortress of Colombo, and was there made a captain over some blacks or moors: so he remained and dwelt there several years longer, until the time when those of Candy and the whole country around there began to rebel against the king of Sitabague. The Portuguese were mindful of that opportunity, and because the king of Candy had died, they sent a body of men to the help of those of Candy, and among others also this Don Juan, although at the beginning they did not wish to let him go. This Don Juan when he came into the country obtained a great following, whereby he began to consider how he might become entirely the ruler of the country: he gave little heed to the Portuguese, and

¹¹⁵. According to Knox (*Hist. Rel.* 89-90) the fashion of long-lobed ears went out in the reign of Raja Sinha II, who did not favour it.

¹¹⁶. What follows does not appear in the edition of 1605. It is founded partly on the historical summary given by the Spilbergen diarist and partly on verbal or written information derived from other sources.

finally turned his force against the king of Sitabague, whom he then also conquered. Some years after this the Portuguese came into the country with many men, and brought with them into the country the daughter of the deceased king, who had also been made a Christian by them, who was a lawful heir thereto, in order that by this means she might get possession of the country: they immediately took possession of the town of Candy, whereupon this Don Juan fled to the mountains, where he again collected his force, fell upon the Portuguese and defeated them, so that few of them escaped. After this he took the king's daughter in marriage as queen, and although against her wish prosecuted the war¹¹⁷. He got by her two children, a son and a daughter, who is at present five or six years old, and are lawful heirs to the kingdom.

After the Hollanders then had sailed again from the shore or river of Poligamme, and had directed their course east-south-east, with a south-west wind, about the 9th of August they sighted land, and in the evening came into the harbour before Achin, where they then found their two ships the *Stern* and *Vlissengen*¹¹⁸.....

The 11th August two of the Hollanders went to the town, there to deliver the letter to the king that they had brought from Zeylon through the secretary Pongolo Corquon¹¹⁹, with whom they rode to the king's palace, sitting behind him on an elephant with some gifts that they wished to present to the king. When they came to the gate of the palace the Pongolo Corquon went beforehand to the king, but they remained standing there, and awaited his *chappe*¹²⁰, after which they also went in, and found the king sitting

117. Either the editor or the printer has made a muddle here of the fact that Dom João married Dona Catharina against her will, (her repugnance being founded on very good reason). It is not likely that she expressed any opinion as regards the prosecution of the war, and certainly Dom João would have paid little heed thereto had she done so.

118. See *supra*, note 88.

119. Pongolo is the Malay *pengulu*, headman, chief. Davies mentions this secretary as "Corcoun" (Purchas, 1905, ed. ii, 314)

120. Licence or passport (see *Hob.-Job.* s.v. "Chop").

and looking out up above, according to his custom¹²¹. They made him reverence after the manner of the country, presented the gifts to him, and seated themselves under a shed opposite to him, putting their legs crosswise over one another like tailors¹²². The secretary moreover sat in his place, who translated into the Malavarish¹²³ language and then delivered to the king the letter brought by the Hollanders written from Zeylon, from which he learnt the situation and the position of his envoys. As regards the misfortune that had befallen them in Zeylon however and the death of the vice-admiral, he had already had full information, namely when the ships the *Stern* and *Vlissingen* had arrived; he then showed himself much grieved on account of it, and deplored it very vehemently.

ANNEXURE D3.

D3.—DIARY OF JAN JACOB RÛCKS.

Jan Jacob RÛcks, from whose journal¹ (preserved in the Hague archives) the following excerpts are made, held some position on board the ship *Hollandia*, through what it was, does not appear². De Jonge, who utilised this diary³ in his *Opkomst van het Ned Gezuïj* iii 10-16, calls him "one of the skippers," but with what authority I do not know. His journal is not to be compared in fulness of detail with that of Bree (judging by the portion relating to Ceylon); but nevertheless is of value in supplementing the narrative

121. The king of Achin was accustomed to sit in a balcony of his palace when giving audience.

122. Cf. Davis, in *Purchas* ii 320.

123. This should, of course, be "Malayish."

1. It extends from 17 June, 1602 to 26 August, 1603. Mr. van Riemsdÿk, the general archivist at the Hague, informs me that at the beginning of the journal is the following note:—"Ick Jan Jaep RÛcx van Opmeer hoert toe dit boeck. Die het vint eer verloern is, die sterve eer hij sieck is" ("To I (Sic) Jan Jaep RÛcx of Opmeer belongs this book. Who finds it ere it is lost, may he die ere he is sick.")

2. Judging by his entries for 27 June to 13 July we might infer that he had charge of the commissariat!

3. The quotations that de Jonge gives are for the most part paraphrases in his own words.

of the latter, especially as regards the massacre of de Weert and his companions. He appears to have been not very well educated, his Dutch being often uncouth and ungrammatical.

The 25th [April, 1603] we arrived in the roadstead at Matecaloe², and it is a dangerous shore, so that one can with difficulty see where the roadstead is, because Matekelo lies a short mile² inland. But there is a mountain inland, that we call *Hang lip*³. When this is between west and west-by-north of you, then you are in the roadstead, and one lies there in 7 and 8 or 9 fathoms water⁴, excellent bottom—fine sand. Matekeloe lies in $7\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, and in a little less than thirteen degrees of longitude⁵.

The 26th our vice-admiral went ashore with 100 men with a banner flying and with a drum and trumpets, and so went to the king of Maetekeloo, and thus arrived before that king's palace, and there they were honorably welcomed and very honorably received; and our people there saw much novelty, both in their eating and in their idols, because all that was brought to our people to eat was laid upon a large leaf of a *benantes*⁶-tree, such as rice, or fish, or fowls, honey, all together in a heap. And the inhabitants of the country looked at us with wonder, both as regards our clothes and our arms, our banners, drums, trumpets. So that we left there in peace and friendship, so that on the 27th we came on board again with all our people, safe and sound.

The inhabitants of the country, when a man dies there, he is forthwith burnt, and his wife burnt with him, because

1. It will be noticed that Rijcks spells this name in a variety of ways. The Dutch very soon abandoned the spelling with the correct initial letter *M*, and adopted the erroneous form with *B*, which the Portuguese invariably used.

2. Lit. "a milekin." Cf. Bree's statement as to the distance.

3. Meaning "blubber-lip." This ugly name did not persist, the Dutch taking over the Portuguese name, *Capello de Frade*, and translating it as *Nunnihschap*. The mountain still bears the name of Friars Hood (see G3).

4. From Karativu looking inland Friar's Hood lies west by north. What the depth of the sea off Karativu is I do not know.

5. Sammanturei lies in about $81^{\circ} 50'$ E., $7^{\circ} 20'$ N.

6. Rijcks in every case spells banana in this odd fashion, with an intrusive *t*.

otherwise she is considered unhappy; when a woman dies there, she is immediately burnt, but not her husband. Those are the customs of the island of Seloon⁷.

The 29th three of our sloops left, namely our vice-admiral's sloop and the Enchuyser man⁸ his sloop: they sailed for Pannevee⁹, in order to inquire there concerning some things, because Panevee lies 7 miles¹⁰ more southerly than the roadstead of Maetekeloe does, because in Pannevee is also a king, and he is the father of the king of Battekeloo¹¹. But the sloop of the *Vlissingen* sailed for Poelegame¹², and there is also a king, and he bears himself very valiantly¹³.

In the island of Seyloon is everywhere provision enough of fowls, of cockes¹⁴, of *benantes*, eggs, fish, harts, hinds, pigs. A hen or cock one buys cheap for the value of a half-stiver, as also for a little lead, for mirrors, scissors, old linen, handkerchiefs, old felt caps. So that one could get by barter for little value provision enough, but it was forbidden to us that we should in the least degree barter or trade, the which was done in order that we should cause no rise in price there. Then were three men placed on land there in the warehouse¹⁵, in order to trade in everything to the profit of the ships and for victualing.

In the island of Seylloen are all kinds of birds, such as peacocks, storks, starlings, sparrows, larks, snipe, peewits, in fact every kind of bird that one could think of; all kinds of beasts, foxes, apes, rabbits, harts, hinds, in fact all that one can think of¹⁶ buffaloes, elephants. Yea, it is the best

7. Rycks appears to have imagined that all the inhabitants of Ceylon were Hindus, like the Tamils he met with at this place.

8. The "Enchuyser man" was Jacob Pietersz, commander of the *Hollandse Tuyn* and successor to de Weert as vice-admiral (see below under 4 June).

9. Panawr (see Bree's journal supra, note 38).

10. Bree says ten miles.

11. Bree does not mention this relationship.

12. Pālukāmam (see Bree's journal, note 37).

13. Cf. what Rycks says below of this man's behaviour during the massacre.

14. Coconuts (cf. under 27 June).

15. In orig. *Loesy*, from Portuguese *loja*, shop. Under the form *logie* it was adopted by the Dutch in the 17th century to denominate what the English called a "factory" (from the Portuguese *feitoria*).

16. Some of the birds and beasts named are not found in Ceylon.

cinnamon country that there is in the whole world, or where more cinnamon grows ; but through war and fighting that the king of Kange¹⁷ has there against the Portuguese, the land is uncultivated, because the Portuguese have the best portion of the island, because they have the castle of Collombe which is so strong, that the walls are almost a rod thick, so that it is hard to capture ; and they have Ponte Gaele, which is also a fine fortress¹⁸. For [in] the island of Seloon are seven kings, of whom the king of Kange is the chief, because he is like emperor, because Kange that is the chief town of Seyloon, because the king of Cange is Christian¹⁹, but the other six kings²⁰ are not. The king of Kange received his Christianity in Goa, because he dwelt there four years²¹ with the Portuguese when he was young, and because it [*sic*] was the son of the old king of Kandy²², and the Portuguese had peace there, because they caused to be done all that they wished, because they departed from the territory of the old king. So then the son came from Goa, and was well educated, spoke good Latin and good Portuguese; and after the death of his father he was king of Kange, and again withstood the Portuguese, because otherwise they would have driven him out of his territory so that they do one another much injury.

MAY

The 2nd came our sloop from Poellegame, and the king of Poelegaeme asked heartily to see our vice-admiral, the which took place.

17. This is another of the writer's odd spellings : how he came to substitute a *g* for the *d* it is difficult to imagine.

18. Rijcks got these exaggerated ideas of the strength of the forts of Colombo and Galle from native reports. Contrast what the Spanish captain Antonio Martins told his king (*M. L. R.* iv, 125-26).

19. He had long ere this adjoined his profession of Christianity, and had returned to Buddhism.

20. Of these six, three were doubtless the "kings" of Matecalo, Pálukámam and Pánawa mentioned below, and other two were perhaps the princes of Matale and Uva, while the sixth may have been the king of Jaffna, though this is doubtful.

21. 1588-92.

22. The Spilbergen diarist was better informed as to the parentage of Dom João (see *C. L. R.* vi 333).

The 4th our vice-admiral went to Poelegamme, and was there well received, because the king of Poelegame had never in his life seen any Dutch²³.

The 5th the vice-admiral came on board again, safe and sound, with all those that had sailed with him.

The 6th it was resolved by the broad council that we should go on shore and shoot buffaloes, oxen and cows, to which the inhabitants would not consent, because they kill no buffaloes, nor any cows, nor oxen, because they live as long as they may, and then when they die, they bury them, because they consider them as holy as their gods. And the dung that comes from the buffaloes, that they burn, and with the ashes they smear their foreheads. and our people shot quite 7 or 8 buffaloes. But the inhabitants said against us, that as many buffaloes as we shot, so many souls were damned, because they imagine that the buffaloes have souls, because they say that when buffaloes die of themselves, then the souls are not damned, but when we shoot them dead then they are damned. So that every day they complained to the king of Batekeloe of the violence that we used towards them, so that we became bad friends with the king and the inhabitants, the which we did not much trouble about²⁴, because we had the king of Cange in our favour, because all the kings of Seylon fear the king of Cange more than a schoolboy his master, because the king of Kandie is a severe king and executes stern justice²⁵, so that they all fear him.

The 14th there came there two Dutchmen from the king of Cande with his chief general²⁶, who came for help to our vice-admiral, in order to besiege Ponte Gaele and Collombe by sea, in order that the Portuguese should afford them no relief, because the king of Kandia had over a hun-

23. He is not mentioned by the Spilbergen diarist. According to Bree, his reception of de Weert did not come up to expectation.

24. From Bree's statements one would judge that the Dutch did trouble over the matter.

25. The writer little thought when he penned this that the king's "stern justice" would be executed on the Dutch themselves.

26. Apparently Manoe Dias (see *supra*, de Weert's letter, note 52).

dred thousand men in the field, whom he would bring by land before Ponte Gale and Collombe. Because the king of Kandia would pay for it quite ten-fold in cinnamon and pepper because the king of Candia has enough cinnamon in his territory, but the Portuguese invade him fiercely.

The 16th in the morning we saw a Portuguese ship, which came from Cotsyn, she was quite 300 lasts in burden, and had nothing in her but ballast, and intended to sail to Neegepotan in order to lade rice there, the which with our company we captured and plundered her, and they told us that three more ships were coming up that way, and were also from Cotseyn and were not above 5 or 6 miles from us.

The 17th we again saw a Portuguese ship, and it was one of the three ships, and we weighed our anchor with our five ships, namely the *Hollandia*, the *Sterre*, the *Hollanse Twyn*, the ship *Vlyssingen, den Haes*²⁷, and in the evening we were close to her, and at night she escaped us; and in the morning we met another, and that we captured and brought her into the roadstead to our vice-admiral, and she was also plundered. Then we had there now two.

The 19th in the morning we again saw another ship south of us, and she was likewise of the company: we sailed towards her with our two or three and brought her also into the roadstead beside the others. The same evening the *Hollantse Tuyn* shot our ship²⁸ through her main-mast, and the slivers broke out, so that the third part of the mast was in pieces. And the same evening the *Hollantse Tuyn* put to sea with two shallops, in order to seek for that ship that had escaped us by night, because she must again approach the land, because she likewise intended for Neegepotan, because she was likewise a ship of 300 lasts.

The 23rd the *Hollantse Tuyn* came again into the roadstead with the two shallops, and had captured the carrack altogether, but the Portuguese had gone off from her in

27. A curious error, and worse even than that of Artus in Bree's diary, since the name of the ship *Der Goes* is here transformed into *The Hare*.

28. The *Hollandia*. Bree does not mention this accident.

their shallop and had taken with them all the money, and their valuable jewels and their goods, and they left therein some 60 old slaves. So she came into the roadstead besides us. Then we had all four of them. Two were each of 300 lasts and the other two were of about 70 lasts, and one was a new ship, and intended for Syna²⁹, and had in her much merchandise, the which was all prize.

So these four ships were plundered, and two of them were allowed to go with all the people, and the other two were allowed to drive on shore and there be knocked to pieces, but from one we took the main-mast and with the one half made checks for our main-mast, and with the [other] half made checks likewise for our bowsprit, because it was a main-mast of one of the big ships. Then from the other of the little ships the *Sterre* took the main-mast, and made therefrom a bowsprit. Thus two of the Portuguese ships perished and the other two with all the people sailed for Negepotan on the 29th.

JUNE.

The first day the vice-admiral went ashore with two hundred armed men, with two ensigns, [and] with two drums and twelve trumpets, and handsomely dressed, to receive with honour the great king of Cange: thus we marched to Matekeloe with a great display. When we were come to Matekeloe, the king of Cange had not yet arrived, so we proceeded a little out of Maetekeloe. There the king of Candia came towards us, and our vice-admiral fell at his feet and did him reverence, and the king of Kandia also received our vice-admiral friendlily. Then the king set his men in a ring, and we with our men marched around thrice three by three in one file within the king's troops, and shot terrifically, so that there was a great ovation, because there were then three met together, namely, the king of Candia, the king of Pamnese³⁰, [and] the king of Bate-

29. China. Bree does not tell us this.

30. Panawa.

keloe, and the which had such a bad issue for us, because it cost us fully 47 men³¹. Then we marched forward thus to Battekeloe, and conducted him to the king of Battekeloe's palace, and we knew of no danger, but we went into an enclosed garden where stood a number of huts and houses, and there we ate a little fish and a little rice that the king of Battekeloe presented us with. When now we went to eat something, then we shot once again all round, or then we went to sit and eat a little.

When we had now eaten a little, and the vice-admiral was with the king, then he came to us and desired of the rest of us that we should go on board ship and come again in the morning, and we should convoy the king on the shore near to the ships; and he kept with him 25 or 26 men, because he recked of no danger. Among the 25 men were eight trumpeters, two upper merchants and two or three assistants and lads. So now we went on board and left the vice-admiral with the aforesaid men at Batekeloe, and we imagined nothing else than that they would speak with each other how they were to arrange that, and how much cinnamon and pepper the king would have to deliver to us.

Because our vice-admiral himself had been in Candie about four months before, and had then promised the king of Candie that he would help him by water, and whatever Portuguese the vice-admiral captured at sea.....³² Atsÿn and Celon; because the vice-admiral was there with only his three ships, and then he came to Atsÿn. There came the vice-admiral then to us, and then we lay there³³ with our three Hollandt ships and two privateer ships³⁴ of Moesteroen's³⁵ from Seelandt. Then the vice-admiral with his council bought one of the freebooter ships, and then we went with our seven ships [and] three shallops to the island of Celon in order to help the king of Selon with our ships against Ponte Gaele and against Colomb.... and that with

31. See further on.

32. Lacuna in ms.

33. At Achin.

34. The *Schaep* and the *Ram*.

35. Moucheron's.

an agreement that we should have peace with the king of Candia and should come every year with two or three ships to receive the cinnamon there and the pepper, and that with great promises and the most honorable intentions.

Now on 25 April we came to Ceylon before Batekeloe into the roadstead, and in Matekeloe received the king of Candia with honour, the which turned out ill for us. Now then I shall tell of the admiral, and how it befell him in Ma teloe.

When then we returned from the vice-admiral and left him with the king of Candia with 25 or 26 men, as was before related, then the vice-admiral spoke with the king at every opportunity, because the vice-admiral was not afraid to give his opinion against the king. So they drank round all together with one another with one accord, and the vice-admiral became intoxicated³⁶, so that they fell to abusing each other; and it annoyed the king of Candia so much because our vice-admiral had let the Portuguese go, so that he took it in bad part, because the vice-admiral had promised him to keep [them], and did not do so, and his people, who incited him, so that he consented, and they murdered the vice-admiral with all those that were with him, and pursued us as far as the shore, and killed all that they caught; and the king of Poelegamme lay near us in the woods with other 300 men armed, and he also received word that he was to kill all the Dutch that he could come by³⁷: so that we lost 47 persons and six mortally wounded, but they recovered again altogether³⁸. This now having been done, there was complete enmity, and we not knowing for certain that such came to us thence, because we imagined that all was friendly, and it changed to enmity. And this happened on 1 June, 1603.

36. Cf. the statement of Baldaeus, *infra*, Fg, at note 8.

37. Rijcks is the only authority that mentions the participation of the "king" of Pálukámam in the massacre.

38. A rather Irish statement! The Spilbergen diarist has it that all 53 were killed.

JUNE.

The 2nd in the evening there came there a letter from the king of Candia [saying] for what reason he had done that, and that it came about owing to [the fact] that he [the vice-admiral] had let the Portuguese go, who were his mortal enemies; because, had we not let the Portuguese go, it would not have happened to us; but the king of Candia imagined that he was betrayed, since the vice-admiral had promised him much and had fulfilled little thereof; because the king of Cande had meant to keep the Portuguese, and thought thereby to release his son, because the Portuguese had captured him³⁹, so that the king of Candia let himself be incited by the rest of his [people] so that a wholesale massacre took place there, which the king of Candia greatly regrets, and desires on account of sorrow still to give cinnamon and pepper and the rest that he had promised. Now the same day he wrote again to the rest of us a letter harsh and severe. They wrote to each other during full sixteen days⁴⁰.

[⁴¹The 4th day of the same month Jacop Pietersz of Enchuÿsen, who was commander of the ships the *Hollantsche Tuÿn*, was chosen by the broad council as vice-admiral].

The 17th⁴² day there came there an ambassador with a Dutchman as well on behalf of the king of Candia, to make peace, and he would promise us a large number of quintals of cinnamon and several bales of pepper, which he would put on board our ships ere we should do him any services.

The 19th a man⁴³ was appointed by the rest of us [to go] there, and took with him the Dutchman that came from the king.

The 20th in the evening there put to sea three of our ships, namely, the *Sterre* and *Vlyssingen* sailed for Atsÿn, and *den Raes*⁴⁴ for Bantum.

39. See infra, Fr, note 7.

40. For details see Bree's journal *supra*.

41. In the original this paragraph comes after the entry for 19 June. I have transferred it to this place for convenience.

42. Bree says it was on the 16th.

43. Jacob Cornelisz, according to Bree.

44. Read "*der Goes*."

The 27th day we began again to trade with our three ships turn about, each its day. The first day for our ship *Hollandia* we bargained for 150 fowls, with quite 800 *kokus* nuts and *benantus*, pine apples⁴⁵, rice-cakes⁴⁶,—of everything.

JULY.

The 1st bargained for some 80 fowls and other goods of a like kind.

The 4th day bargained for some 130 fowls and other provision of a similar character.

The 7th day bargained for some 160 fowls with other provision besides.

The 10th day bargained for 210 fowls with other provision besides.

The 13th day bargained for 104 with enough of other provision besides.

The 14th day there was on the island a great festival that never comes at one time in the year. They then go with everybody to Tiercowil in order there to pray to their *peegoeden*⁴⁷. But Tiercowil lies 9 miles from Batekelo, and the festival lasts 12 days, for during the 12 days we could obtain no provision, because they had all gone to their *pagodt*, in order to hold the festival⁴⁸.

(To be continued)

45. In orig. "*pinges*," the meaning of which I am doubtful about.

46. Or, "rice, cakes."

47. See Bree, s.d. 13 July.

48. Here the Ceylon portion of this diary ends, except that Rýcks records that on 28 July, ere they set sail from the roadstead of "Maetekeloe," the Dutch bought some more fowls as provisions. It will be noticed that he records only the *Hollandia's* purchases! so, that, if the other two ships' supplies of fowls were on the same scale, the crews of the three vessels must have had a surfeit of chicken by the time they reached Achin.

EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

By H. C. P. BELI, C.C.S. (Retired).

No. 7,—“LONU ZIYÁRAT:” MÁLE

At the point where Mále, or “Sultán’s Island,” the Capital of the Máldive Group, curls sharply Southwards from East, there juts out from the main Island a small peninsula, known as “*Lonu Ziyárat*,” “(Area of) the Sea-(board) Mausoleum¹.”

This tongue of land is, at the present day, again wholly open to access on the Island side, exactly as it had remained up to some three hundred years ago, or prior to the reign of Sultán Muḥammad Shujá’i ‘Imád-ud-dín I; (A.C. 1620-1648); who, in constant dread of Portuguese attack, erected from coral blocks a stout Fort, which entirely surrounded Mále, and was strengthened by Bastions (M. *Buruzu*), eleven in all, at suitable interspaces².

The Bastion,—it has long fallen into complete ruin—guarding the promontory, that projected from the curtain wall where the Fort enceinte runs both North and West, derived its appellation, *Lonu Ziyárat Buruzu*, therefrom.

The term “*Lonu Ziyárat*³” in reality covers all graves situated inside the demarcated portion of the peninsula, which stretches 108 yards by 70 yards, but is *par excellence* applicable to the old Shrine Tomb of a famous, if shadowy, Muslim Shaikh.

The actual area contained within bounds is divided clearly into two sections. To left (North) of the bisecting path leading South-East from the Island seaward, the ground seems, now-a-days, to be quite bare of all sepulture; but to right, or South, there are two distinct sets of internment sites, slightly apart, though embraced under the joint appellation "*Lonu Ziyárat*."

SHAIKH NAJÍB ZIYÁRAT.

Beyond these duplicated grave clusters, at the extreme end of the promontory, stands, entirely isolated, a high-walled structure, commonly styled "*Habshíge-fánu Maqán*," "Shrine of the African Worthy," to wit, the so-called Shaikh Najíb. But this is only his supposititious burial place; for in point of fact, the Tomb would seem to be merely a cenotaph—the firm tradition being that this Shaikh Najíb actually died at Kurendú Island in Fádiffoļu Atol when engaged in spreading the Faith.

Nothing more definite appears to be known regarding this highly revered foreign apostle of Islám. That he was a native of Africa (Arabic, *Habshí*), his Ziyárat's nomenclature appears to indicate; and certain it is that he must have lived and died at the Máldives some time between the latter half of the Twelfth Century, when the Máldivians were converted to Muḥammadanism (A.C. 1151) by Shaikh Yúsuf Shams-ud-dín of Tabríz, and the first half of the Fourteenth Century; for the famous Maghrabín traveller of Tangier, Abú 'Abd-Allah Muḥammad, usually styled Ibn Baṭuṭa, visited his *Ziyárat* in A.C. 1343, and recorded the fact⁴.

The *Najíb Ziyárat* is a roofed building of no size or architectural importance, shut in by tall walls, through which there is but one entrance.

Immediately outside, or North-West of, the enclosed Shrine, a small quadrangular bathing tank (*M. veyo*) has been artificially constructed of dressed madrepora slabs with, a single flight of steps descending to the water (*Plate A, 1*).

“LONU ZIYĀRAT.”

Before reaching the Shaikh's *Ziyārat*, about halfway down the path, lie to right, as above mentioned, two sets of customary type graves, connected by the Islanders themselves with Māldivian dead solely.

Of the further coterie, nothing but concreted graves are to be seen, now level with the ground, and mostly without memorial stones—and these few quite bare.

The nearer, or more Western graves, only two in all stand by themselves, within a bay, low-walled and attached to higher-built precincts, the whole surrounded by rough outer enclosure, accessible, like the Shaikh's cenotaph, from one point only (*Plate A, 2*).

It is doubtless these very graves that Lieutenants, I. A. Young and W. Christopher, of the Indian Navy saw in 1835:—

“We visited the graves of the Persians (*sic*) and counted about sixty; only two of which had inscriptions that were legible, and bearing date 994th year of the Hijra, which would make them 257 year old.

One of these being in appearance less old than the other graves, it seemed probable that it was not the depository of the remains of any of the first settlers, but of those of one of their descendants.

None of these stones are now legible⁵.”

With the original manuscript of his Paper on the “Vocabulary of the Maldiv Islands,” Christopher sent Dr. J. Wilson at Bombay “a specimen of the former mode of carving Arabic on stone (at Māle)”; adding that “the stone bears date 994 of the Hegira.”

Unfortunately, when editing Christopher's Paper, ⁶ Dr. Wilson did not refer in any way to this “specimen”; which was apparently an eye-copy of some portion of the very epigraph now reproduced from photographs made in 1922. (*Plate B 1. 2*).

GRAVE OF SULTÁN MUHAMMAD 7.

The oblong headstone, (which is of the familiar peak-topped design denoting graves of males), measures 3 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 1 inch across. The slab, being of coral and uncovered, has naturally weathered greatly from exposure to the elements during a period of four and a half centuries.

It bears nine lines of Arabic script, much abraded in places, cut in bold "sunk-relief" characters, run together in that tantalising monogrammic form so dear to Arabic graphologists, and so heart-breaking to decipher with confidence when worn.

Portions of the record (in particular the names of the deceased Sultán, of his father whom he immediately succeeded on the throne, and the date of the former's death) are clear enough; but in more than one place the reading is very obscure and open to varied conjecture.

Christopher would seem to have misread the first two angular figures in the last line, as "99" instead of "88;" for the actual date on the stone is unmistakable, even at this day, viz. "A.H. 884, Rajab 5th" (A.C. 1479, September 22nd).

A poor photograph of the slab itself (*Plate B 1*), and one of a "squeeze" (*Plate B 2*) of the epigraph, taken in A.C. 1922, have been examined by several 'Uluma at Mále, in Ceylon, and in India.

The Text (*Plate C*) of the record given in lithograph, albeit admittedly not free from doubt here and there, conforms to the version as recorded by M. Ḥusain Dídí, Qázi of the Máldive Islands. It is put forward advisedly as a tentative, though generally reliable, effort by the learned ex-Bandāra Náibu; who modestly courts amendments by any Arabic Scholar desirous of criticising his reading.

Text, Transcript, and Translation of the Epigraph are offered provisionally :—

Transcript.

1. *HĀZAHĪ RAḤMAT*
2. *ALLAHUMMA IGHFIR HU VA RAḤM HU*
3. *TAWAFFĀ ILĀ RAḤMAT-ULLĀH TA 'ĀLA
AL-ĀZAM AL-AKRAM*
4. *AL-MAGHFŪR ḤĀJĪ 'L-ḤARAMAIN AL-
MĀJĪD ZŪ'D-DAULAT VA'S-SAHĀM VA'S-SUYŪF*
5. *VA'D-DAFĀTAR MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤĀFĪZ
AL-JĀLAB LI-NAṢR-ILLĀH AS-SULTĀN ṢĀHĪB,
UL-ḤAZZĪ*
6. *'L-ARFĀ VA'S-SHARIY'AT ṢĀHĪB UL-
QALAM VA'L-ḤAJJ LI-BAI-TULLĀH 'L-ḤARĀM*
7. *VA QABR'N-NABĪ 'ALAIHI'S-ṢALĀTU
VA'S-SALĀM ĀL AL-KARĪM*
8. *AL-ḤĀJĪ NAṢR-UL-MUKHĀṬĪB HAZRAT
AS-SULTĀN ḤASAN KĪLAKI LAṬĀF-ALLĀH BIHI*
9. *FI YAVMIL ARB'Ā 'L-KHĀMIS MIN
SHAHRI RAJAB SANAT 884.*

Translation.

This (of Thy) mercy.

O! God pardon and bless him (the deceased).

On the 5th day of the month of Rajab in the (Hijra) year 884, entered into the Peace of God, Most Great, Most Bountiful, the pardoned (deceased), the Sultān Muḥammad; (who) performed the *Ḥajj* (to Mekka and Medīna); (was) glorious, (and) prosperous; (who) excelled with bow and sword; (was) learned in booklore, and a Ḥāfiz; (who) gained the aid of God; lord of fortune; master of Muslim law, (and) pre-eminent writer; (who visited) the Temple (of God) and the Tomb of the Prophet (upon whom be God's mercy and blessing); son of His Gracious Majesty the Sultān Naṣr-ul-Mukhāṭib Ḥasan Kilege the Ḥājī. To him may God be merciful.

HITI DUVAS.

On four days in the year special semi-religious Festivals are scrupulously observed at Mále in remembrance of certain saintly personages, whose memory the Islanders very greatly respect.

These Festivals, termed broadly "*Hiti Duvas*," comprise two larger (*Boðu*), and two smaller (*Kuða*), functions; one of each category appertaining to *Henvéru Avaru* (the Easternmost Ward) and *Máfannu Avaru* (the Westernmost Ward) of the quartette into which "Sultán's Island" is divided.

All four Festivals occur in the Muslim month of Ramazán; and all are carried out at night: (1) "*Henvéru Boðu Hiti*" on the 22nd; "*Máfannu Boðu Hiti*" on the 24th; (3) "*Henvéru Kuða Hiti*" on the 26th; and, finally, "*Máfannu Kuða Hiti*" on the 28th.

They are held respectively in memory of (a) Shaikh as-Sálih Najíb Habshígefánu; (b) 'Ali Rasgefánu (Sultán 'Ali VI), who fell defending Mále against the Portuguese in A.C. 1558; (c) Shaikh Yúsuf Shams-ud-dín of Tabríz, Apostle of Islám to the Máldives, and Sultán Sayyid Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín I, (A.C. 1692) jointly; and (d) Maulána Al-Fagí Sulaimán of Medína.

The "*Henvéru Boðu Hiti*" is carried out at the *Lonu Ziyárat* promontory, to South-East; the "*Máfannu Boðu Hiti*" at a causeway-united site, on the South. These two Festivals are virtually alike; but those of the "*Kuða Hiti Duvas*" are chiefly confined to prayer recitals at the respective Shrines.

HENYÉRU BODU HITI.

The following description of the "*Henvéru Boðu Hiti*," summarised from the writer's Diary of May 20, 1922, may afford a fair idea of the ceremonies, attending that Festival as held on Ramazán 22nd, A.H. 1340:—

Early in the day, the Islanders were made aware, by beat of gong and proclamation, of their bounden duty to attend the Festival at night, subject to dire penalty for default—none the less significant from being unexpressed⁹.

In the afternoon we started out, under the sure guidance of the indefatigable H. Ismá'il Dídí, *Míru Baharu* (Harbour Master), to inspect the general preparations for to-night's consummation of the *Bođu Hiti* Festivities at the *Lonu Ziyárat*

The day was evidently being marked as a semi-holiday. The excellently kept streets seemed alive with many additions to the everyday wayfarers one encounters at Mále; specially noticeable among them being a large number of *Avaru-verin* (Ward employees)—the younger blades preening themselves so obviously with evident gusto—, each wearing new *tarbúsh* (fez) and the chocolate-striped *féli* (waist-cloth), Máldive-woven. For the time being, the whole air felt charged with social electricity.

Everything appeared to be well in train; even the streets, beautifully clean at all times, had been given a fresh topping of dazzlingly white coral sand; whilst their cadjan-hidden side fences were lined throughout with a continuous row (in places doubled) of kerosine wind-lanterns ready for lighting at dark.

Immediately North of the *Maizán-Ge*¹⁰, "Council Room", of *Henvéru Avaru*, or "Ward," (which was temporarily furnished with coloured glass lamps and a large chandelier, besides neat chairs and small tables,) had been erected a tall ship's mast, from which floated a large flag (M. *bođu dida*). This flagstaff was enclosed by a low cloth-walled barrier (M. *kótte*, lit. "fort") termed "*Henvéru Maizán-Ge Doru Kótte*," joining up the streets *Kebu-alá-Magu* (North and South) and *Bandaru-mati-Magu* (East and West.)

Where the former road unites on the South with *Bođu Magu*,—the fine broad boulevard which runs due East and West bisecting Mále Island from sea to sea—, stood provisionally a second similar barrier, "*Walū Maizán-Ge Doru Kótte* "

Just before reaching this point, we diverged, at our cicerone's suggestion, into a cross-street to examine one of the many supplies of eatables provided (all at the expense of the *Bođu Bađ'ri-Ge* or "Government Treasury") for consumption at the *Lonu Ziyárat* feasting.

Persons are employed for days together, at Government charges, in cooking these toothsome foods for the night's entertainment.

The man who displayed his wares had evidently determined to make a brave show. Outside the entrance to his house, a temporary booth, cloth-covered, had been put up. In the centre was placed on a table a huge brass-tray, about 4 feet in diameter, whereon, as well as round, the purveyor, swelling with honest pride, gradually deposited, for our amused edification, saucer after saucer of victuals galore in seemingly endless variety—some forty dishes and upwards in all, as actually counted.

As *pièce de résistance*, first brought out, was a large dish of boiled rice, heaped up high: then followed all sorts of novel kickshaws, inviting and otherwise—fish "puffs" and "fingers," and what not, with "cunning cates" innumerable, and varied sweetmeats, some in triangular slices made from edible sea-weed (Tamil, *kađal pási*) resembling to sight "Turkish Delight."

The commestibles succeeding one another unceasingly dribbled finally,—*honesta quam splendida*,—to a couple of plantains in one saucer, a single "Cabin" biscuit in another, and a few "Gem" biscuits in a third—perhaps put out as "samples" of a larger supply in reserve.

But why belittle a noble effort? The entire *tour de force*, as piled up on the table "groaning beneath its weight," did, in truth, real and infinite credit to the worthy caterer.

For removal to the *Lonu Ziyárat*, the many dishes are placed in light wicker-work "cages," covered with coloured cloth, and slung on poles by stout ropes¹¹.

Finally leaving the local "Lyons" in his glory, we went on to the *Lonu Ziyárat* itself, a spit of land running out South-East from the main Island, and picturesquely lapped by the bluest of lagoons.

Where *Báđi Magu* ("Cannon Street,") and *Lonu Ziyárat-hingá-Magu* unite, a small cadjan hut was put up for the "Sulṭán's Band" to deposit its instruments, when feasting later in an adjoining large mat-floored shed provisionally set apart for the purpose.

Within the *Lonu Ziyárat* promontory three special structures had been erected for the Night's Ceremony. (*Plate D*).

(i) To right, just beyond the middle *Ziyárat*, or group of graves, rose a commodious room, constructed partly of cadjans partly of zinc sheeting, and divided into sections down its long axis by curtains, with choicest "Máldivé mats" many yards in length (*M. bođu kuná*) laid on the ground.

This spacious "hall" is intended to serve the various officers of Government attending the *Hiti* Festival, when eating the night's banquet seated, *more Arabico*, on the floor¹⁰.

(ii) Nearly opposite, carefully pitched, stood the "*Hiti-Ge*," or Tent, reserved for Royalty.

(iii) Close to it, but nearer the *Najib Ziyárat*, in marked contrast, was a small temporary shed, dubbed "*Kiyveni-Ge*," open at both ends, whose hipped roof nearly touched the ground. Here the *Qurán* is recited in the afternoon of the "*Bođu Hiti Duvas*."

Outside it were gathered many Muslim dignitaries—notably Sayyid Músá Dídí, Chief *Khaṭīb* of Mále (who also holds the official rank and title of *Fámuladéri Kilégefánu*) and M. Ḥusain Dídí, *ex-Baṇḍára Náibu*, senior of the four Náibs, now acting as Qázi.

The “*Hiti-Ge*” (ii) merits particular description.

A large Canvas Tent, 24 feet square, with but one curtained entrance, made conspicuous exteriorally by broad white and black vertical stripes. Inside, the Tent's sides are lined with rich green felt, as background framing continuous panels, yellow-ochre in colour, which present pseudo-façades (five on each wall) of Muslim Mosques. A valance of pink intervenes, separating walls from horizontal ceiling, which is itself of a rich orange hue. The whole “scheme” displays an Oriental *tout ensemble* truly gorgeous, if inevitably meretricious to Western eyes.

The floor within the Tent was covered by *boḍu kuná* mats, and soft cushions placed thereon at one side, for the use of H. H. the Sultán and his nephew when resting to night.

A portion of the *Hiti-Ge* had been curtained off, for dinner to be served to the Royal occupants at the conclusion of all the religious ceremonies.

Night Ceremony.

The weather being propitious, Sultán Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín¹², had decided to go on foot to the *Lonu Ziyárat*—one of His Highness' very rare appearances in public—, accompanied by Machchangoli Gaḍuvaru Maniffuḷu, son of his deceased younger half-brother an *ex-Sultán*¹³.

About 9-30 p.m. the first gun, of a salute of seven¹⁴, was fired from the Palace, announcing the starting of the Sultán in procession for the *Lonu Ziyárat*.

From *Henvéru Maizán-Ge*, as far down *Mai Magu* Street as the Eastern Gateway of the Palace Enclosure (M. *Etere-kolu*), whence Royalty emerged, a vista of fairy lights twinkled ; half way along the street, at the Palace of Prince Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dín,¹⁵ the Heir Apparent (now in Ceylon), and at the *Medu Ziyárat*¹⁵, shrine sacred to Yúsuf Shams-ud-dín of Tabríz, clustered lamps shone with exceptional brilliance.

The Royal Procession, flanked by torch-bearers, advanced steadily. The Sultán, with his nephew immediately behind, was escorted, as on Fridays when attending the *Hukuru Miskit*, or *Jum'a Mosque* (Plate F), in addition to the State Band, (Plate E), by *Hagu Bei-kalun* (Militia) and His Highness' Body Guard.

The latter force, carrying rifles and resplendant in scarlet tunics, gold-striped blue trousers, and red fez, were under the command of young Muḥammad Farid Dídí¹⁶, himself dressed in a neat black uniform overlaid with heavy gold lace.

The regular Royal Insignia—State Umbrella (M. *Hat-kolu*), Fan (M. *Samara-kolu*), Sword and Shield (M. *Ogaru Kaḍi-kolu* ; *Addana-kolu*), and Palanquins (M. *Dolidán-kolu*), were borne in the procession by their allotted carriers, headed by the Royal Standard Bearer.

Standing within the *Maizán-Ge*, we were able to get a clear close-up view of the Royal personage as they passed ; after having paused at certain *Ziyárat* to recite the *Fátiha*, &c.

From the junction of *Kebu-Alá-Magu* with *Boḍu Magu*, the Procession turned sharply Eastward ; and, passing the *Dilli Miskit* Mosque (where a third barrier *Kötte* occurred) swerved South-East to reach the *Lonu Ziyárat* area¹⁷.

Arrived there, it marched directly down the promontory as far as the walled-in *Najíb Ziyárat*. The Sultán and Prince then entered this greatly revered Shrine (tabúed to all laymen), and again recited the *Fátiha*, &c., before emerging.

Escorted back to the privacy of the "*Hiti-Ge*," the military escort was here temporarily dismissed, except the *Nába* or State Band; for whose performance the Island onlookers, crowding round the "*Hiti-Ge*," left a suitable space in front of the Tent.

In all, the Band consisted of eleven performers—four beating drums (M. *beru*), four blowing trumpets (M. *tálafili*), and three playing on flageiolets (M. *dummari*).

After changing their robes, &c¹⁸. for lighter dress and fez, His Highness and the Prince appeared at the door of the "*Hiti-Ge*," and stood to listen to the *Nába* music. The darkness was well lit up by half a dozen large braziers.

On this occasion, the Band had been voluntarily reinforced both as "Chief Drummer" as well as its "Conductor" by an old Noble (M. *Boḍun*); Kakkáge Maniffu¹⁹, who, though connected with Royalty, deemed it an honour to proffer his services for the nonce. Said to be *facile princeps* at Mále as a player on the *beru*, most brilliantly, in sober truth, did he perform his rôle.

As far as the drums were concerned, they were played in perfect rythm—hands working together smoothly throughout at sudden pauses and modulations; but—"tell it not in Gath"!—to one pair of uncultured ears not "educated up to" such sublime heights of musical art, the trumpets and shawns appeared to produce the most appallingly blatant discords.

The whole "concert" only lasted some fifteen to twenty minutes, the tune, or tunes,—due doubtless to lamentable personal ignorance by an European of Oriental music's "idiom"—seemingly changing in no way from first to last.

At the conclusion of the performance their Highnesses retired²⁰.

The subsequent fireworks (rockets), let off as finále to the Festival, provided but a medium show for a rather blasé crowd. Fortunately the rain held up, but heavy clouds obscured the moon.

So was reached "the end of a perfect day" in the life, year in year out, of unsophisticated Islanders, ever temperamentally placid, and, to all appearance, well content with their hum-drum seagirt environment—a seclusion, enlivened, as it is, only by such simple homely rejoicings, and those but at rare intervals.

NOTES.

1. **Plan of Málē Island** (Ceylon Sessional Paper, XV., 1921).

2. **The Portuguese at Málē.** The Portuguese, by invitation of the ousted Sultán, Kalu Muḥammad, occupied Málē first in A.C. 1518, and built a Fort; but the garrison was soon massacred to a man.

In A.C. 1558, at the instigation of *ex*-Sultán Ḥasan IX, Christianised and living at Cochin, after two abortive attempts, the Portuguese captured Málē, killing the Sultán ('Alī VI) reigning, and held the Islands under subjection for 15 years, up to A.C. 1573; when their Agent, a half-caste Máldivian, was slain, and Málē recaptured by the Islanders led by Muḥammed Boḍu Takurufánu (immediately afterwards appointed Sultán) and his brother Ḥasan.

Málē was not again attacked by the Portuguese until A.C. 1631, That Expedition from Goa was driven off; a fate which similarly befell a second Expedition despatched in A.C. 1649.

This was the last effort of the Portuguese to conquer the Máldives.

3. **Ziyarat.** The Arabic word literally means the "visiting" of Shrines and burial places; hence applied to the sites themselves.

4. **Shaikh Najīb Ziyarat** "On the morrow (of arrival at *Mahal*) I set out with the Captain (of the vessel) and the Qāzi; 'Isá of Yemen, to visit a hermitage (*zavia*), situated at the extremity of the Island, built by the *Shaikh as-Sálih Najīb*" (Ibn Baṭúṭa at the Máldives; C.A.S. Journal, Extra No. 1882, pp. 21, 22).

5. **Transactions Bombay Geographical Society, 1836, (reprint 1844), p. 74.**

6. **Journal, R.A.S., 1838, Vol. VI, N.S. Article III**

7. **Sultán Muḥammad.** Son of Sultán Ḥájī Ḥasan III, son of Sultán Abú Bakr I, son of Sultán Ḥasan I (A.C. 1388-97) founder of the stormy Hiláli Dynasty, which closed in A.C. 1552 with the renegade Christian King, Ḥasan IX. (A.C. 1550-52).

The *Tárikh* and *Rádavali* Histories give no particulars of this Sultán Muḥammad, beyond allotting him respectively 13 years' reign (A.H. 872-85; A.C. 1467-81) and 14 years. The *Lonu Ziyarat* grave

record, which highly eulogises him, definitely fixes the date of his death, as having occurred in A.H. 884—Rajab, equivalent to A.C. 1479, September.

Of the Sultán his father, the *Tárikh*, confirmed by tradition, speaks with just detestation. He had been Qázi under Sultán Danna Muham-mad (A.C. 1420-21); stayed at Mekka over a second *Hajj*; brought back 70 slaves to Mále, and employed them in place of his Islander servants. Trouble arose owing to a slave killing a Máldivian.

The Qázi, Hasan of Shiráz, insisted on the culprit being punished, invoking on the Sultán the punishment of hell in event of refusal. Thereupon, the Sultán had the Qázi burnt at a stake—a curious parallel to the *Rájawaliya* story (Englis. ed, p. 26.) of the Ceylon sub-ruler, Kēlaqi Tissa, the Buddhist Elder, and the clandestine letter.

The famous Maulána, Al-Fagi Sulaimán of Medína, then resident at Mále, made futile remonstrance; but ere long God sent His curse upon the inhuman Sultán, who died of a terrible and agonising disease.

8. **Hiti Duvas:** The Máldivian word *Hiti* (*lit.* "bitter"), as used in connection with *Duvas* ("days"), may possibly derive its association thereanent from the *hiti* curries prepared on the occasion.

9. **Proclamation.** The Crier traverses the main streets of Mále (M. *Koli-hinga-Magu*) proclaiming loudly, to beat of gong (M. *koli*):—*Malin Mudin Khaṭību rattehi birattehi kudi boḍu kamuveri nuveri ule emme alutakun adu 'Aṣar Namádu faibaigen Lonu Ziyárat doṛa(r) Du'verihamu diyayáí uranne mihen ahái dekidene tibi Dua'verihamu nunjaka(r) mihaku ahái* —————.

"All Malins, Mudins, Khaṭíbs and people, small and great, of this Island (*lit.* country) and outside Islands (*lit.* countries) hereby take notice:—To-day, after leaving the '*Aṣar Namádu* (3-30 p.m. Mosque service), (proceed) at once to say *Fátiha* (at the *Lonu Ziyárat*.)

"Should any one hear this (notice), or get word of it, and not attend (as directed) to say *Fátiha*—(woe betide him)!"

10: **Plate XII, 20.** (Ceylon Sessional Paper XV: 1921).

11. **Victuals for Hiti Duvas.** Food is provided for Boḍu Bei-kalun, Muskuli Bei-kalun, Majili-ara-Bei-kalun (Saradáru), the four Kōri (schools of armed dancers), Kuḍi Bei-kalun, Arihu Bei-kalun, Mudin Bei-kalun, Kiyaveni-verin and Khaṭíbs.

The Boḍu Baḍéri (Government Treasury) is aided in financing expenses (*karádu*) of the Hiti Festivities by outside help. For Henvéru Ward, besides South Mále, Mulaku, Kojumaḍulu and Haddummatí Atols, some other Departments assist the Treasury; which itself furnishes for one year 2 bags of rice, 3000 *lári*, 125 lbs. sugar, and 3 *aḍubá* of ghee.

Broadly speaking, the varied eatables are classed as *Fudúru-Dolagu*, and beverages as *Bo-Dolagu*; *fudúru* ("food"), *bo* ("drink") *dolagu* ("brass tray"). Distribution of the food (*hiti ken*) is made to groups of consumers, not exceeding twelve persons for each group.

12. **Sultán Muhammad Shams-ud-dín III.** Elder son of Sultán Ibráhim Nur-ud-dín, who died in A.C. 1893.

On his First Accession, in that year, as a boy of 12 years, Muhammad Shams-ud-din reigned for only three months; but resumed the throne (which he still holds) ten years later, on the deposition of his cousin Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-din VI in A.C. 1903.

The present Hurá Dynasty, which began with Sulṭān Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-din (A. C. 1759-67), has ruled 163 years.

13 Machchangoli Gaḍuvaru Maniffulu. Younger son of the deceased ex-Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-din V styled Ā-Gaḍuvaru Maniffulu after his supercession. The latter, though but 7 or 8 years of age, was placed on the throne in A.C. 1893 for five months; to be succeeded, then but temporarily, by his elder half-brother himself a lad, Muḥammad Shams-ud-din the Sulṭān now reigning.

Ex-Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-din V and his elder son died at Bombay in 1920, when on their way to Mekka. The second son, Machchangoli Gaḍuvaru Maniffulu, nephew of the reigning Sulṭān, (whom he accompanied to the *Lonu Ziyarat* in A.C. 1922) died at Mále in A.C. 1928.

14 Salutes. In all 30 guns of Mále artillery are fired at various fixed points during the progress of the Royal Procession to and from the *Lonu Ziyarat*: 7 at *Ā Kōṭṭe Matī* (outside Palace); 10 (7+3) at *Henveru Maizán-Ge Doṛu* (Kōṭṭe); 10 (7+3) at *Valu Maizán-Ge Doṛu* (Kōṭṭe); with 3 *Nába Baḍi*.

15. Plate VII, 9; Plate VIII, 12 (Ceylon Sessional Paper XV: 1921).

16. Muhammad Farid Dídí. Elder son of I. 'Abd-ul Majíd Dídí, *Boḍu Baḍéri Manikufánu*, Controller of Revenue and Treasurer, (recently raised to the rank of *Raṇṇa Baḍéri Kilēgefánu*); himself second son of 'A. Ibráhím Dídí, *Boḍu Doṛiméná Kilēgefánu*, Prime Minister to five Sulṭáns, who died in 1925, at the age of 80, greatly mourned.

The *ex-Prime Minister's* eldest son, I. Aḥmad Dídí, *Doṛiméná Kilēgefánu*, is Private Secretary to H.H. the Sulṭān, at Mále, as well as Collector of Customs, and Postmaster-General.

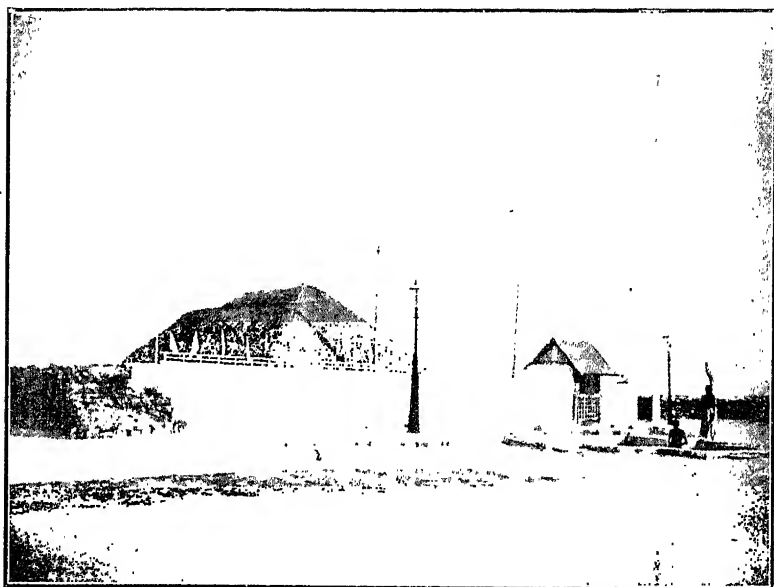
The third son, I. 'Abd-ul Hamid Dídí Effendí, has long been the Máldivian Government Representative at Colombo.

17 Night Route. The route taken by the Royal Procession from the Sulṭān's Palace to the *Lonu Ziyarat* can be closely followed on the "Plan of Mále" (Ceylon Sessional Paper XV: 1921.)

18. The Sulṭān's State Dress. Turban (*faguḍi-kōlu*), white with spike (*turraṇás-kōlu*)—a form only worn by the Sulṭáns; shirt (*qamis-kōlu*), trousers (*haruvilu-kōlu*); stockings, shoes of Delhi pattern (*izzatuge jódu*); kamarband (*kamaru-kōlu*), inner robe, (*libás-kōlu*), waist shawl, (*sálu-kōlu*), upper robe (*abá-kōlu*), handkerchief, held in front (*kuḍa rumá-kōlu*). The Sulṭān's fez (*tarbúsh*) bears as ornament gold-crescent and jewels.

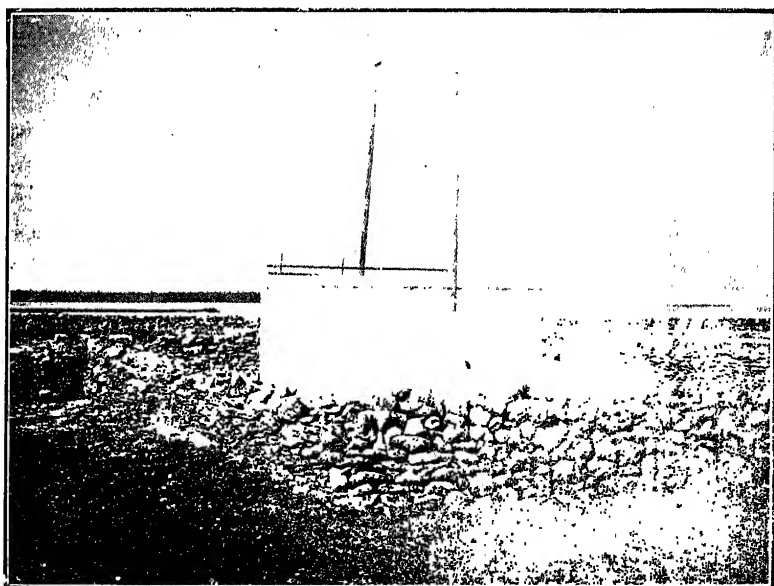
19. Kakkage Maniffulu. A great grandson of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mu' in-ud-din I (A.C. 1799-1835), through Veoge Maniffulu.

MÁLE ISLAND



1. SHAIKH NAJÍB ZIYÁRAT

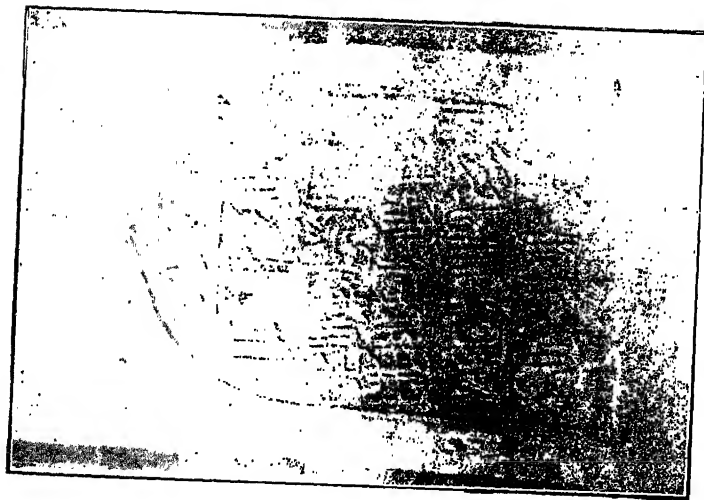
MÁLE ISLAND



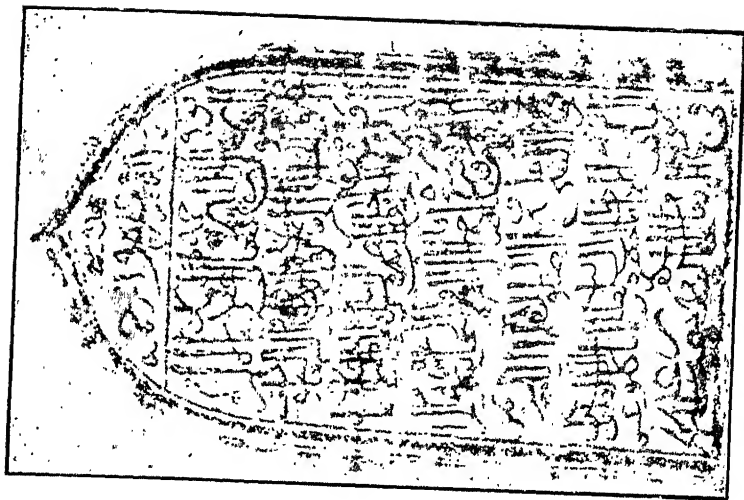
2. GRAVE OF SULTÁN MUHAMMAD



MÁLE ISLAND



1.



2.

SULTÁN MUHAMMAD'S GRAVESTONE



MÁLE ISLAND

هذه رحمة

اللهم اغفر وارحمه

توفى الى رحمة الله تعالى الاعظم الاكرم

المغفور حاج الحرمين الحاجه ذو المولود السهام والسيوف

والدخاتر محمد الحافظ الجالب لفراده الشاخص صاحب الحظ

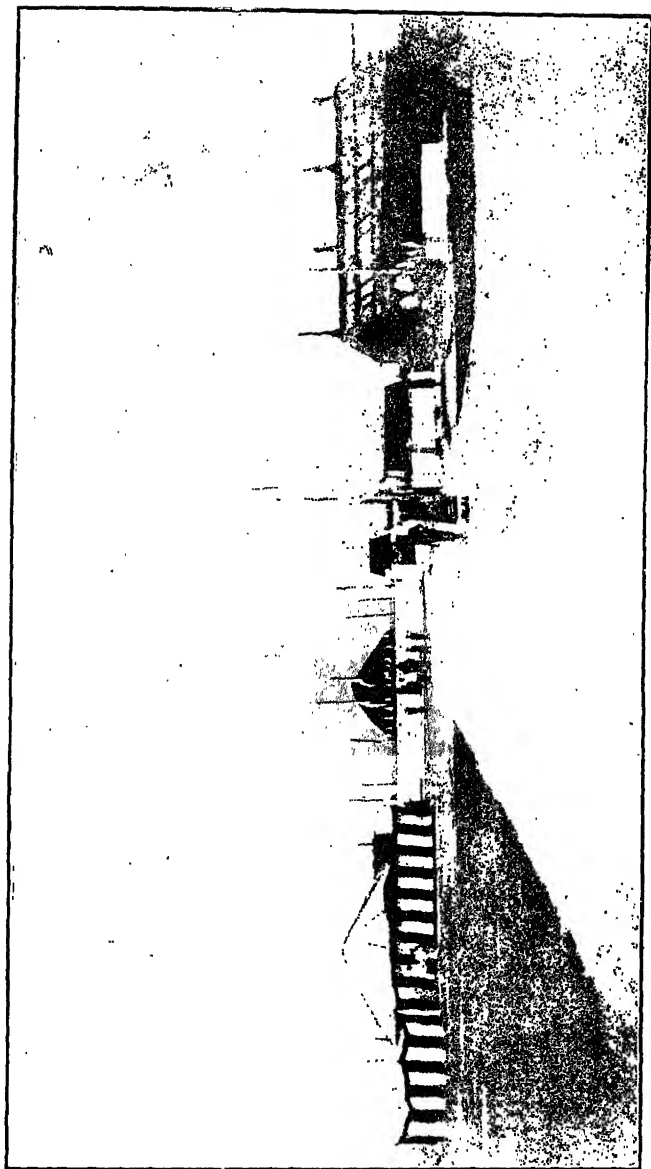
الارفع والشيعه صاحب القلم والحج لبيت الله الحرام

وقبر النبي عليه الصلوة والسلام الكريم

الحاجي نصر المخاطب حضره الشاخص حلق لطف الله

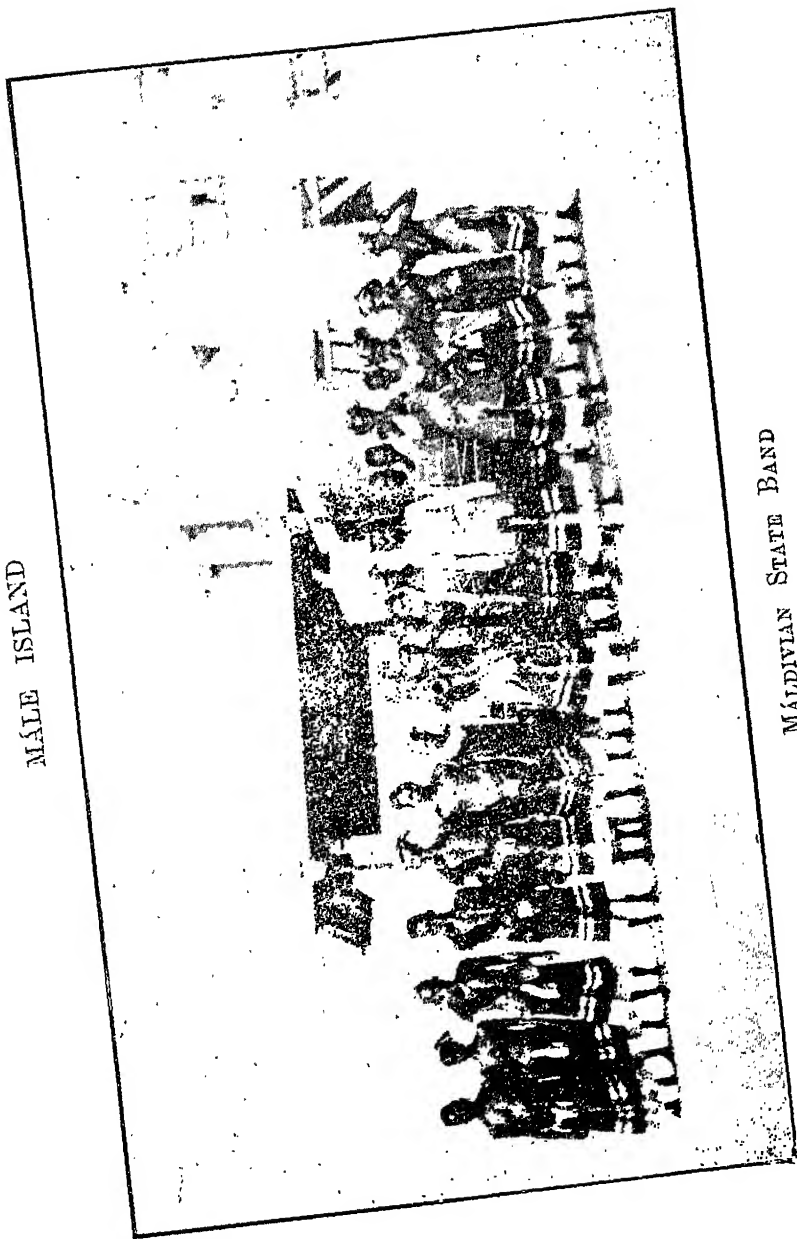
في يوم الاربعاء الخامس من شهر رجب ١٢٨٤ هـ

MÁLE ISLAND



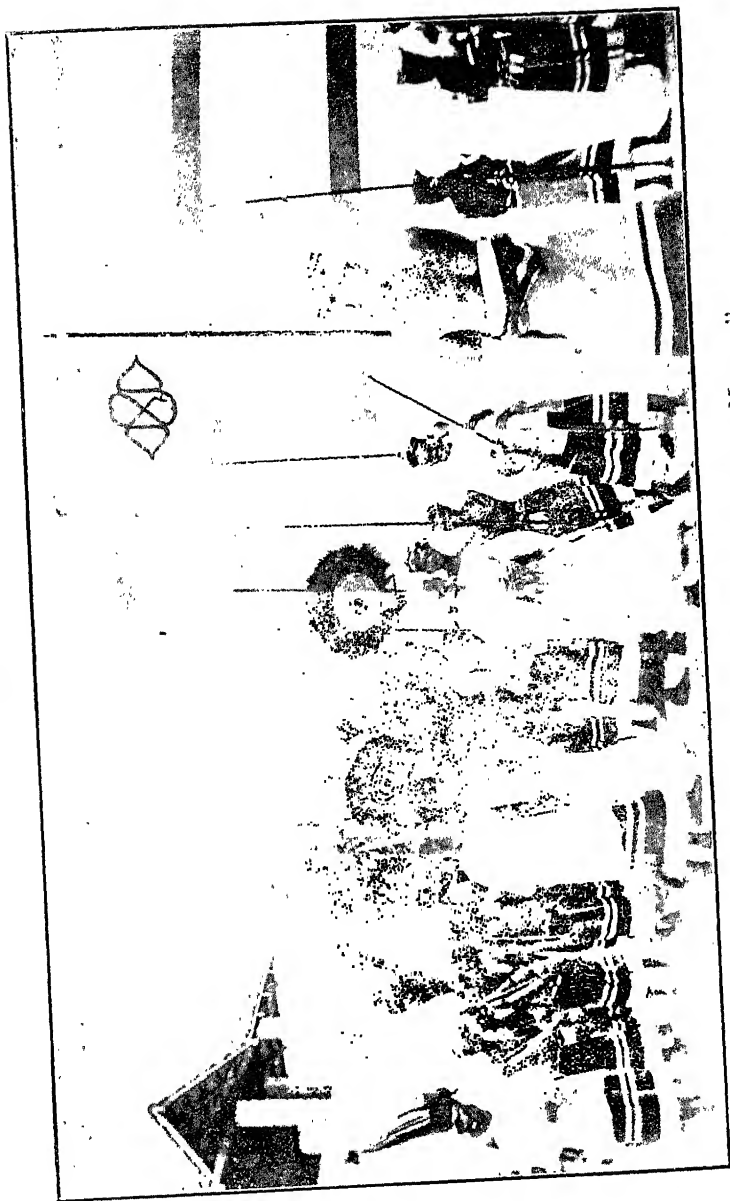
“HENVÉRU BOPU HITI” ERECTIONS AT “LONTU ZIVÁRAT”

MALE ISLAND



MALDIVIAN STATE BAND

MÁLE ISLAND



ROYAL PROCESSION TO "HUKURU MRSKIM"

20. **Interview with H.H. the Sultán.** Graciously invited to a short interview with H.H. the Sultán and nephew Prince within the "Hiti-Ge," the writer was received by Royalty standing. After the usual formalities (inquiry as to health, &c.,) His Highness touched on the prosecution of the objects of the Archaeological Expedition from Ceylon of 1922; renewing, in kindest terms, continued promise of the generous and invaluable assistance already afforded the Mission during its visit to the Southern Atols and stay at Mále.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Hugh Cleghorn, First Colonial Secretary of Ceylon.

By

Aubrey N. Weinman.

The publication of the letters and diary* of Hugh Cleghorn throw a good deal of light on what is still a very obscure period in the Island's history, and is of more than ordinary interest in view of the assertions made by several writers to the effect that Governor Van Angelbeck betrayed Colombo by arranging with Major Agnew to transfer the services of the Regiment de Meuron to the British. Quite the contrary is proved, and Cleghorn in his diary and letters gives the circumstances, together with a faithful account of how he was employed in 1795-96 to secure the transfer of this Swiss Regiment of mercenaries from the Dutch to the English Service. It becomes quite evident that van Angelbeck had no knowledge of the secret negotiations which had been concluded in Neuchatel between Count Charles Daniel de Meuron, the hereditary Colonel-Proprietaire of the Regiment de Meuron, and Hugh Cleghorn on behalf of the British Government, for the transfer of the regiment. In fact when he *did* hear about it, he seems to have tried his best to prevent the news from reaching the Commandant of the regiment, and later, only agreed to its departure under threat of force which unfortunately he was powerless to resist. This regiment was the most important unit in the garrison of Colombo, and after its withdrawal on the advice of most of the senior officers present, it was decided

* The Cleghorn Papers. A Footnote to History. Being the Diary 1795-96 of Hugh Cleghorn of Stravithie, edited by Rev. William Nei, with 3 portraits and map. Demy. 8vo. 18s. Nett. 1927.

that the defence was no longer practicable. The direct outcome of all this was the capitulation on the approach of the British forces, and there cannot be much doubt that had the transfer *not* taken place at this critical juncture, the place would never have been surrendered without the stubborn and prolonged struggle for which preparations had been made. Great credit is due to the energy and resource of Hugh Cleghorn, through whose foresight the capture of Colombo became an easy and comparatively inexpensive matter.

Cleghorn was born in 1751 of obscure Scotch parents, and at the rather early age of 22 secured an appointment to the Chair of Civil and Natural History at St. Andrews University. He was accustomed to spend a good deal of his time on the continent, which led eventually to his having to resign his appointment, as the senate had grown tired of his periods of prolonged and frequent absence. During his trips abroad he formed a large number of acquaintances, and amongst them Charles Daniel de Meuron, a Swiss Count, who was the proprietor and Colonel of a Swiss regiment of infantry in the service of the Dutch East India Company and employed on garrison duty in Ceylon. It had been in the Dutch service some length of time, but the company had failed to pay up the sums due for the hire of the regiment, and to secure for the Count the rank of Major-General which he had been demanding for several years. On hearing of the Count's anxiety at the Government of Holland turning Republican, and that the allegiance of the Regiment was due to the Prince of Orange, who was then a refugee in England, Cleghorn saw possibilities of great advantage to the country he was anxious to serve, and, incidentally, to himself.

It occurred to him that in these circumstances there was every chance of his being able to persuade the Count to transfer the services of his regiment to the English, and thus in one stroke wipe out the principal factor in the Dutch garrison in the Island of Ceylon. He lost no time to communicate his idea to the Government through Lord Lough-

borough¹ and fortunately found a ready listener in Henry Dundas,² Secretary of State for War, who perceiving the importance of the suggestion, gave him the necessary authority and instructions to go ahead with negotiations for the transfer of the Regiment to the English Government of Madras. The Count, who was nearly sixty years of age at the time, knew how to look after his own interests, and if not that Cleghorn realized that "the importance of securing the services of the Regiment de Meuron renders it necessary that considerable sacrifices should be made," it is more than possible that negotiations would have fallen through. Ultimately, it was decided that the regiment was to be employed by the British Government on Indian rates of pay, and receive the same treatment as accorded to other troops of His Majesty or of the English East India Company in India. The Count was to receive £6000/- for keeping his regiment up to strength, together with all arrears due from the Dutch East India Company, the rank of Major General for himself, and that of Brigadier for his brother Count Pierre Frederick de Meuron who was in active command of the Regiment in Ceylon. He was also given an advance of £4000/- on condition that he accompanied Cleghorn to India to further the ultimate success of the agreement. It was no easy matter to persuade the old Count to leave his native country, where he was in comfortable circumstances, and at his time of life, undertake a most difficult and even dangerous journey to India by land, but in the end he was won over by Cleghorn's eloquence and "resigned" himself to his friend's "pleasure."

It was arranged that they should leave Leghorn in a special frigate for Alexandria, but as time was the most important consideration, they decided to sail from Venice by a vessel they had picked up there. The party, consisting of Mr. Cleghorn and his servant, Michael Mirowsky, Count de Meuron, Capt. Bolle, Aide-de-Camp, Mons. Choppin, Secretary, and Julius, a black servant to the Count, left

1. Lord Chancellor.

2. Henry Dundas (1742-1811) first Viscount Melville (1802) Secretary of State for War 1794-1801.

Venice on the 18th of May and reached Alexandria on the 10th of June. The journey through Egypt from Suez to Jeddah, Hodeida and Mocha, through the Red and Arabian Seas, till they were safely landed in Southern India in September of 1795, was one long list of discomfort, trouble and disappointment. Whether on a crowded pilgrim ship, or an equally uninviting country barque, they were forced to make the best of the situation, for not once on the whole journey were they fortunate enough to meet with an English vessel. They had a surfeit of trouble on the way, having at one stage or another of the journey, had the experience of being fleeced, insulted, bullied, starved, wrecked and in fact all but killed. It was a most trying time, but, throughout, Cleghorn displayed wonderful courage, patience and tact.

He reached India to find that the Madras Government had commenced hostilities against Ceylon, and that Trincomalie and other places had already been taken. In order to inform Count Pierre Frederick de Meuron, the Commandant of the regiment, of what was happening, Cleghorn induced the master of a small boat having a Danish pass from Tranquebar, to take her into Colombo and to give the Colonel a Dutch cheese, containing a letter informing him of the arrival of his brother, the transfer of the regiment, etc. About the same time Major Agnew was sent with a flag of truce to demand the surrender of the regiment, and in his diary Cleghorn records the incident as follows:—"I was for some weeks in most anxious suspense concerning the result of Major Agnew's negotiations at Colombo. The mode of transacting the transfer occasioned, as might surely have been foreseen, much delay. He fortunately however arrived with his flag of truce at Colombo before Governor van Angelbeck was apprised of the capitulation of the regiment de Meuron, and the Major immediately communicated to him the object of that capitulation, and in consequence of it, demanded the transfer of the regiment. The Governor was taken by surprise and appeared at a loss how to act. At last he observed that if the regiment was British, it was now prisoner with him,

and he would detain it in that situation. Major Agnew and Colonel de Meuron replied, he would do well to consider whether with the numbers of his Garrison, he could pretend to confine as prisoners 600 men ready to fulfil the engagements of their new situation. After some hesitation he said they were at liberty to depart. Colonel de Meuron in return expressed his attachment to the inhabitants of Colombo, and considering all circumstances agreed that the regiment should not be employed against it during the siege. The arrangement was attended with no bad consequences, as the regiment could replace an equal number of Europeans if it should be found necessary to embark them from the Carnatic. It would have been harsh besides to employ immediately that Regiment against a town where they had long been in garrison, and where most of the officers and many of the soldiers, had their wives, families and near relations. Unfortunately, however, it had not occurred either to Lord Hobart or Major Agnew to have transports ready for the carrying of the Regiment, though two Bombay cruisers could have been made available for the purpose. Thus was the object of Cleghorn's mission fulfilled, which resulted in a loss to the Dutch of the main portion of their garrison in Ceylon. The motive of his hurried and adventurous journey was clearly to get to India before the news of what had happened in Europe could reach in the ordinary course of events.

Cleghorn returned to England after his enterprise was carried to a successful issue, and as a reward for his services was appointed first Colonial Secretary of Ceylon under the Governorship of the Hon. Frederick North. He was also awarded £5000 by the Government for the important part he took in the annexation of Ceylon to the British Empire. He was only two years in the Island, and at the commencement was a great favourite with the Governor who considered himself "sincerely happy in having such men as de Meuron, Cleghorn and Agnew" but things did not go on smoothly for any length of time, and he, like many others, soon found it impossible to work in harmony with the Governor. The result was that Cleghorn gave up his appointment of £3000/-

a year and returned to Scotland where he ended his days. He was laird of Stravithie in Fife, married in 1774 Rachael Mac Gill of the Kemback family and had several children. One of his sons was Colonel J. Cleghorn of the Madras Engineers, another was called to the English Bar and became Administrator General, Madras. A grandson, also by name of Hugh, founded the forest conservancy in India. Professor Hugh Cleghorn died in 1836 at the ripe old age of 85 and was buried in the Churchyard of Dunino where there is a tombstone with the following inscription —

“In memory of Hugh Cleghorn, L.L.D., of Stravithie,
Professor of Civil and Natural History in the University of
St. Andrews,

who died in February, 1836, and is buried here.

He was the agent by whose instrumentality the Island of
Ceylon *

was annexed to the British Empire.”

Considering the great importance of the part he took in shaping the Island's History, it is strange that adequate recognition has not been given to the services of Hugh Cleghorn. His name is not mentioned by the majority of its historian and even Tennent makes no reference to this remarkable empire builder. His connection with the Island remained most obscure, till the short article on “Hugh Cleghorn” by the late Mr. J. P. Lewis appeared in the *Antiquary* of 1922, but it was only with the publication of the “Cleghorn Papers” by the Rev. William Neil that he gained the prominence which he deserves. The documents which furnished the material for this work consist of the letters and diaries of Hugh Cleghorn, found in Stravithie House, the residence of his great grandson, Sir Alexander Sprot, who contributes the foreword to the book. It is an exceedingly valuable work and gives us a thorough insight into the character and ways of an absorbingly interesting personage. Truly, “there were giants in the earth in those days.”

*It is pointed out by Mr. L. J. B. Turner that this inscription is not strictly correct in that Cleghorn was concerned with the Transfer of the Maritime Provinces only.

Prince Vijayapala of Ceylon, 1634-54.**By P. E. Pieris, Colombo, 1928.**

(Extract from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for 1929, p. 169.)

Dr. Pieris once more has given to the student of Ceylon history a translation of original documents connected with Portuguese rule in the Island. The little book under review deals exclusively with Prince Vijayapāla, who after quarrelling with his brother, King Rājāsīmha II of Kandy, went over to the Portuguese and ended his days in exile.

The translation is marred by the unnecessary use of Portuguese words in passages where good English is available. This occasionally must render the translation difficult of understanding by the casual reader, who, for instance, can hardly be expected to know what is meant by the "Reino." Unfamiliarity with ecclesiastical terminology also has led to results which strike the English reader as peculiar; for example, "the High Pontiff Urbano VIII," "the ship of São Pedro," "Done at Rome at São Pedro," "Innocencio the Tenth." Again a Franciscan Guardian is needlessly called "Guardião." The Archbishop of "Mira," of course, was the titular holder of the well-known see of Myra. But in spite of these defects Dr. Pieris is to be congratulated on his work.

Of interest is the fact revealed in Document 10 that Vijayapāla wrote to his brother in Tamil. This had been the court language of the kings of Kōṭṭē. And again the appearance in the seventeenth century of the title "Vedauntra" in Document 12. This does not conceal "some form of the word 'Bandara,'" as supposed by the translator, but is the Sinhalese *Vāḍa-Un-tāna*, which is found in use in the Kōṭṭē period and in the sixteenth century inscription at the Nātha Dēvālē in Kandy. It apparently means "His Majesty" or "His Highness."

H. W. C.

The Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G, Archaeology, etc., Vol. IV., Part I.

December 31st, 1928.

The new volume begins well. A most important contribution is the paper by S. Paranavitane on the traces of Mahāyānism in sculpture, literature, shrines, and worship among the Sinhalese in Ceylon. The prevalence of Mahāyānism in Lanka, with its occasional triumphs over the orthodox doctrine, has not been sufficiently admitted in the monkish chronicles of Ceylon. There are so many traces of Mahāyāna teaching in the old secular books, even in *pansala* schoolbooks, that we must infer the influence was widespread and often very popular; the remaining Mahāyāna stone sculptures are so large and impressive that we must infer wealth and power in the State were once the lot of Mahāyānism in Lanka. This essay collects the evidence available and puts it together; its value to students of Ceylon history will be more appreciated the wider their studies lead them.

The Archaeological Notes by A. M. Hocart are precise and cover fields of interest. Brickwork in the oldest buildings, work in limestone and gneiss have been studied with care. The extreme hardness of the fine grained plutonic rock (gneiss) appears to have formed an obstacle to its use until a higher grade of steel came from India along with Indian artisans accustomed to its capacities, when limestone lost its preference. The excellence of ancient Indian steel led to the use of it for cutting the Egyptian hieroglyphs and making of Damascus swordblades, (to mention two out of many instances).

A. M. Hocart was assured by a specialist in steel "that not till the eighteenth century could Europe produce a steel hard enough to cope satisfactorily with gneiss." Hocart continues. "The fact remains that from the Gupta era
H

onwards the Sinhalese coped with it most successfully" and he instances the delicate carvings still existent. The table of three main periods of Ceylon culture given on page 9 should fill a page in Ceylon school histories. The illustrations to this paper are of value but vary in technical excellence; some of the photography is excellent, a few photographs are of poor quality.

Plate XXVII depicts the upper half of the standing figure at Galvihāre, Polonnaruwa, once known as "Ānanda weeping over the dying Buddha," reasons for considering this sculpture to represent a standing Buddha are given on page 15; two others can be adduced, first that the pedestal is a lotus-*asana*, second, that in those times, a disciple was always figured much smaller in size than the Master, the Buddha.

The story of Hatbōdivatta, where seven Bo-Trees were planted over the graves of the poet Kālidāsa, King (and poet) Kumāradāsa, his four wives and his minister, is alluded to on page 31. It would interest many to have the full story narrated in the Journal of the C. B., R. A. S.

The epigraphical summary (pages 17 to 29) is a feature of the publication under notice which will, I hope, become a regular part of the publication.

ANDREAS NELL.

**Constantine de Sa's Maps and Plans of Ceylon (pp.
vi. 66, Govt. Printer, Ceylon, 1929).**

Mr. E. Reimers, the Government Archivist, has issued this interesting collection of Maps and Plans as No. 2 of his "Selections from the Dutch Records of the Ceylon Government" from photographic reproductions of the originals at the Hague. It may well be that these latter are themselves a Dutch copy from the Portuguese, in the same way as the short descriptive accounts which accompany each Plan is a translation from the Portuguese. These descriptions contain valuable tit-bits of information and were written by de Sa himself who makes frequent reference in them to his own administration. From de Sa's introductory note it appears that the Portuguese Maps were a second Edition with amplified descriptions. The date "1624-1628" is somewhat misleading, but much more so is the date 1606 on the Dutch Title page. Generally speaking the Plans are cruder than those in the Mss at the Library of Congress, Washington, which, in spite of Mr. Reimers' opinion to the contrary, is almost certainly more recent, just as it is more detailed. The Plan of the Menikkadawara Fort deserves special attention.

In addition to a lucid translation of the Dutch Text, there is a helpful introduction and a valuable List of 208 Maps of Ceylon which are now at the Hague. Everyone interested in Ceylon History will welcome further similar publications from the Archivist.

P.E.P.

Afonso de Albuquerque.**By Edgar Prestage, D. Litt. (pp. 85. Watford, 1929).**

This sketch by the Camoens Professor in the University of London is written in a spirit of appreciation of and sympathy with the doings of perhaps the greatest European who has figured in the Indian Ocean. Albuquerque's policy was to found an Empire based on the control of three chief trading centres—Ormuz, Malacca and Goa—supported by a chain of fortresses at strategic points in Africa and India, and feudatory rulers where forts were not possible. The population of Portugal was insufficient to meet the demands made on it: therefore he deliberately set about creating a mixed race by inter-marriage with Indian women. His own son was borne by an African mother. At Goa he respected existing customs; justice and finance were entrusted to Indian officials: In striking contrast to the rest of his countrymen, he was not avaricious. No doubt his cruelty be appalling, and he did not shrink from employing poison to obtain his end. He was devoted to his religion though he had not the opportunity to develop that side of his character to any great extent. He was an astonishing mixture of crusader, empire builder and merchant, but his claims to greatness are not open to dispute. The book is characterised by refined scholarship; expressions like "niggers" and "the moral superiority of the white man over the brown" might have been otherwise rendered without disadvantage.

P.E.P.

Malabar and the Portuguese, 1500-1663.

By K. M. Panikkar (pp. xvi., 221, D. B. Taraporevala, Sons, and Co., Bombay, 1929).

This is an important contribution to our knowledge of the doings of the Portuguese in the East, written from the point of view of the people most concerned, namely, the Indian. The Author is well qualified for his task: he was Dixon Scholar at Christ Church, and Professor of Modern History at Aligarh, and among other works by him, his recent "The Relations between the Government of India and the Indian States," is well known. In the present work he has availed himself not only of the familiar Portuguese writers but also of the Archives at Lisbon and the valuable records of the Indian Temples and Ruling Families.

The story of the trade of South India is a long one. Indian teak has been found in the Palace of Nebchednezzar: China, Arabia and Venice fill a prominent place in it. Till the arrival of the Hollanders on the scene the Indians still challenged the sea-power of the Portuguese. As for these last the Author has arrived at a conclusion similar to what has been reached regarding their connection with Ceylon. "Treacherous, untrustworthy and barbarously cruel" is his verdict. All they taught was improved methods of killing and narrow bigotry in religion: they left behind little of which a civilised nation can be proud. It is, however, to their credit that they did not yield over-much to colour prejudice. The book can be recommended to all students of the corresponding period in Ceylon: the Printer's errors are many and regrettable.

P.E.P.

The Pali Literature of Ceylon.

By G. P. Malalasekera, Ph. D. (pp. 329, Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publication Fund, Vol. X., London, 1928).

The author has made a very successful attempt to give a connected history of a movement, which is spread over twenty-four centuries, and of the fruits of which a great deal has been destroyed by foreign invasion and local fanaticism. Pali came into Ceylon with Buddhism and its study grew with the growth of that religion. The religious works of Buddhagoshā and his successors as well as the series of historical records with which modern names like Turnour and Geiger are so honourably associated, are lucidly discussed : the historical background is depicted just as it should be for the proper appreciation of the narrative. Dr. Malalasekera is a Scholar who loves his books : he is also a Sinhalese who is proud of his country and his religion. Everyone interested in Sinhalese culture will read this Book : this Society cannot but be gratified at the recognition by the Parent Society of the scholarship of a Member of its Council.

P.E.P.

The Dutch in Ceylon.

By R. G. Anthonisz, I.S.O., formerly Government Archivist, Vol. I., Early Visits and Settlements in the Island, 198 pp., Colombo, 1929.

This volume is the first of two which between them give a concise history of the Dutch in Ceylon during the period between 1640 and 1796. The present volume is very largely historical, and deals with the first visits of Dutch merchants, with the conquest of the Maritime Districts by the Dutch and with their relations with the Sinhalese King Raja Singha. It covers the period up to the capture of Colombo (1656), Mannar and Jaffna (1658). The book is written in a readable manner, and is based mainly on Dutch authorities, which are quoted at the head of each chapter. It is essentially, as Mr. Anthonisz himself says in his preface, a "history of the Dutch people," and it gives a very fair summary of the period, and forms a welcome addition to our knowledge of it.

C.H.C.

Romantic Ceylon, its History, Legend and Story.

**By R. H. Bassett, drawings by Kathleen Murdoch and
E. J. Laws, 253 pp., Cecil Palmer, London, 1929.**

The object of this book is stated by Mr. Bassett in his introduction to be to interest and amuse, and it makes no claims he says, to historical completeness or scientific accuracy. It consists to a large extent of a reproduction of articles which have appeared from time to time in the *Times of Ceylon*. The apparent lack of sequence in the book and the manner in which we are taken from Colombo to the Bintenne, or rather to a small part of the Bintenne which is in Sabaragamuwa, to Adam's Peak, Jaffna, and the Islands is perhaps somewhat bewildering, until it explained by Mr. Bassett that "each chapter endeavours to illustrate one of the myriad tags which form the huge variegated patchwork of Ceylon history and legend." As an endeavour to interest and amuse the book is certainly successful. It is well written, and the various stories and descriptions are related with a charm which makes the book a welcome companion for an idle half hour. Its chief interest, however, lies in its happy portrayal of contemporary Ceylon life in the towns and villages, and to the student its chief value is more in the stories of Ceylonese life in the villages, in the description of a Colombo race meet and the like than in the accounts, interesting though they are, of the wars of Rama and Rawana, or of the landing of Vijayo, etc., which occupy a considerable portion of the book.

C.H.C.

***The Dutch Power in Ceylon.**

1602-1670.

Dr. Paul E. Pieris introduces us to a supplementary store of documents relating to the Rise of the Dutch in Ceylon. The original documents are at the Hague ; translations made for the India Office, London, have been used by the writer to add more to his already published writings on the period.

Besides references to 73 documents for verification of facts, and short extracts from 51 other documents, there are full copies of no less than 89 documents which are worth perusal and study.

Authenticated copies of all such papers should be added to the Society's Library at some time or other.

Meanwhile, students of Ceylon History should study this book and seek to follow the trend of events during a period of confusion and dissension when Kings Senerat and Rajasinha IIInd tried in vain to outwit the Portuguese, and then the Dutch, by a crude diplomacy which defeated its own purposes.

The tenacity and courage of the Dutch enabled them to survive periods of anxiety and distress, with an increasing hold on the assistance of the Maritime Sinhalese as friendly and loyal allies.

The Kandyan monarch, who looms largely in the Introduction, Rajasinha IIInd [A.D. 1629—1697], was so successful in his crafty dealings with the brothers whom he easily dispossessed of their principalities, that failure against the Portuguese and the Dutch must have been very bitter to him. The letters are a pitiful exhibition of human cunning used in war and in peace between East and West.

The book is of value for careful perusal and study, and Dr. Paul E. Pieris deserves our thanks for its publication.

ANDREAS NELL.

*The Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1602—1670. Some Documents relating to the Rise of the Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1602—1670 from the translations at the India Office.

Edited by P. E. PIERIS, Litt. D.

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1925. BLAZÉ, LOUIS EDMUND, B.A., Arthur's Place, Bambalapitiya.
1926. BOYD, ANDREW, c/o Messrs. Lipton, Ltd., Colombo.
1910. BRAYNE, The Hon. CHARLES VALENTINE, B.A., (Cantab), C.C.S., The Residency, Batticaloa.

Year of
Election.

1926. BROHIER, RICHARD LESLIE, Assistant Superintendent of Surveys, Tangalle.
1909. BROOKE, ELDRED GORDON, Hanwella Group, Padukka.
1914. BROOM, Sir J. THOMSON, "Mayen," Queen's Road, Colombo.
1919. CADER, CADER MOHIDEEN MOHAMED ABDUL, 37, Main Street, Colombo.
1921. CADER, NOORDEEN HADJIAR MOHAMED ABDUL, Proctor, S.C. and Notary Public, 138a, Colpetty, Colombo.
1919. CADER, RASEEN ABDUL, Merchant, 27, New Moor Street, Colombo.
1925. CALDERA, A. M., B.A., (Lond), Teacher, Zahira College, Colombo.
1928. CARY, The Hon. M. J., Peak View, Alexandra Place, Colombo.
1923. CHARAVANAMUTTU, V. E., A.C.P. (Lond.), M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A., F.C.I., M.C.P. (Lond.), Central Y.M.C.A., Colombo.
1926. CHOKSY, NORIMAN KAIKSHUSHRU, Advocate, Colombo.
1915. CHRISTOFFELSZ, A. E., B.A., C.C.S., Land Settlement Office, Colombo.
1906. CODRINGTON, The Hon. HUMPREY WILLIAM, B.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.N.S., C.C.S., The Old Palace, Kandy.
1915. COLLINS, CHARLES HENRY, B.A. (Lond.), C.C.S.
1928. COORAY-BULATHSINGHALA, BERNARD DAVID, The Municipality, Colombo; Pathmos, Dehiwala.
1920. COORAY, DOVAN ARTHUR, Imperial Bank of India, Colombo.
1921. COORAY, Dr. EDWARD ABRAHAM, M.M.C., L.M.S. (Ceylon), M.R.C.S. (Eng.), L.R.C.P. (Lond.), M.D. (Brus.), Belvoir, Bambalapitiya, Colombo.
1891. COREA, CHARLES EDGAR HENRY ABAYARATNA GOONASEKARA WICKRAMASOORIYA VIJEYESAKARA, Proctor, Chilaw.

Year of
Election.

1908. COREA, The Hon. CHARLES EDWARD VICTOR SENA-
VARATNA, Advocate, Chilaw.
1919. COREA, PETER MARY ALOYSIOUS, Proctor, S.C. and
Notary Public, "Clinton," Mayfield Road, Kota-
hena, Colombo.
1904. DE ABREW, PETER, MacCarthy Road, Colombo.
1922. DE ALWIS, JAMES ALBERT, 'Wasala Walawwa,' Ja-Ela.
1924. DE ALWIS, JOHN WILLIAM, Supervisor of Municipal
Parks, No. 49, Bambalapitiya Road, Colombo.
1920. DE ALWIS, LEONARD HAROLD, Advocate, Colombo.
1907. DE FONSEKA, EDMUND CLARKE, M.B.E., Proctor,
S.C., Rosmead Place, Colombo.
1924. DE FONSEKA, J. P., B.A., (Lond.), St. Joseph's
College, Colombo.
1917. DE FONSEKA, LIONEL EDGAR, Barrister-at-Law,
Colombo.
1928. DE JATIS CHANDRA, Ceylon University College,
Colombo.
1928. DE LANEROLLE, JULIUS DUKE, Chief Clerk, Sinhalese
Dictionary Office, Colombo.
1925. DE MEL, CHARLES HUBERT, "Melville," Moratuwa.
1923. DE MEL, FRANCIS BENJAMIN, F.R.C.I., "Villa de Mell,"
Horton Place, Colombo.
1928. DE PINTO, CYRIL E., C.C.S., Galle.
1925. DERANIYAGALA, PAULUS EDWARD PIERIS, B.A. (Can-
tab). M.A. (Har.), Colombo Museum.
1926. DERANIYAGALA, RALPH ST. LOUIS PIERIS, B.A.
(Cantab), Barrister-at-Law, Colombo.
1915. DE SILVA, ALBERT ERNEST, Barrister-at-Law, Flower
Road, Colombo.
1929. DE SILVA, COLVIN REGINALD, "Sisira," Randombe,
Ambalangoda.
1924. DE SILVA, FELIX CHARLES ALOYSIUS, Proctor, S.C.
and Notary, Colombo.
1916. DE SILVA, GEORGE EDMUND, Proctor, S.C. and
Notary, St. George's Kandy.

Year of
Election.

1914. DE SILVA, GUNAMUNI JULIUS, Pohaddaramulla, Wadduwa.
1926. DE SILVA, JAMES, B.A. (Lond.), Zahira College, Colombo.
1923. DE SILVA, Dr. LIONEL, M.R.C.S. (ng.), L.R.C.P. (Lond.), M.D.B.CH. (Liver), Ward Place, Colombo.
1924. DE SILVA, PETER, B.A. (Lond.) Zahira College, Colombo.
1929. DE SILVA, WALWIN ARNOLD, B.SC., C.C.S., Matara.
1891. DE SOYSA, A. J. R., F.R.C.I., Kewstoke, Gregory's Road, Colombo.
1891. DE SOYSA, JERONIS WILLIAM CHARLES, M.A., (Cantab.), J.P., Gate Mudaliyar, The Walawwa, Moratuwa.
1918. DE ZOYSA, G. ROBERT, J.P., Merchant, Union Place, Colombo.
1926. DE ZOYSA, WIJEMUNI DOUGLAS, Registrar-General's Office, Colombo.
1927. DHARMAKIRTHI THERA, Rev. WILAMUNE SRI, "Adhanamaluwa," Kandy.
1917. DHIRALANKARA THERO, Rev. RATGAMA SRI, "Tilakaratanaramaya," Borella, Colombo.
1923. DIAS, C. E. A., J.P., U.P.M., "Savitri," Turret Road, Colombo.
1929. DIAS, FELIX REGINALD, M.A., L.L.M., Retired Judge, 20, Colpetty, Colombo.
1925. DISANAYAKA, T. D. S. A., Notary Public, Nugegoda.
1926. DUNPHY, GREGORY LOUIS AUGUSTINE, Reuters, Ltd., Gaffoor Buildings, Fort, Colombo.
1927. DULLING, Mrs. LUCY A., Havelock Town, Colombo.
1928. DYSON, EDWARD TREVOR, B.A. (Oxon), C.C.S., Kalutara.
1919. FERNANDO, Dr. ADOLPHUS SIMON PETER, L.M.S., (Ceylon), Barnes Place, Colombo.
1914. FERNANDO, The Hon. CHARLES HUBERT ZALESKI, B.A., L.L.B. (Cantab), M.L.C., M.M.C., "Deyncourt," Colpetty, Colombo.

Year of
Election.

1890. FERNANDO, The Hon. HILARION MARCUS, M.D.,
B.SC., (Lond.).
1921. FERNANDO, JAMES PETER, Merchant, "Knowsley,"
Bagatalle Road, Colombo.
1928. FERNANDO, J. S. A., "Kaurava Griha," Veyangoda.
1929. FERNANDO, K. CARLIN, B.A. (Lond.), Wekada,
Panadure.
1928. FERNANDO, M. P. L. S., B.A. (Lond.), Zahira Col-
lege, Colombo.
1912. FERNANDO, MICHAEL SEBASTIAN, Notary Public,
Colombo.
1920. FERNANDO, REGINALD M., B.A., "Deveronside,"
Edinburgh Crescent, Colombo.
FERNANDO, W. JAMES, Ayurvedic Physician, Pana-
dure.
1927. FREUDENBERG, SEIGMUND, Colombo.
1920. GNANA PRAKASAR, Rev. Father SAMINADER, O.M.I.,
Nallur, Jaffna.
1923. GOONERATNA, CECIL ERNEST, Advocate, Panadure.
1929. GOONERATNA, DHARMAVANSA D. M., Mahawela
Estate, Matale.
1916. GOONETILLEKE, OLIVER ERNEST, B.A. (Lond.), F.C.I.,
Assistant Colonial Auditor, Colombo.
1929. GOONAWARDENE, JOHN ERIC PERERA, J.P., U.P.M.,
Mudaliyar, Siyane Korale East, Lennington, Veyan-
goda.
1910. GRACIE, THOMAS, Union Place, Colombo.
1929. GRATIAEN, EDWARD GERALD, Proctor, S.C., Colombo.
1919. GRATIAEN, LESLIE JACOLYN, B.A., (Lond.), District
Inspector of Schools, Education Department,
Colombo.
1915. GUNARATNA THERO, Rev. K. SRI, Punnyarama
Pirivena, Karannagoda, Anguruvatota.
1919. GUNARATNA, H. R., Government Vernacular School,
Slave Island.
1924. GUNARATNA, HEROD, Mudaliyar, Chief Translator
to Government, The Secretariat, Colombo.

Year of
Election.

1929. GUNASEKARA, MANTRI WITANA DAVID, Ayurvedic Physician, "Waiddiya Mandiraya," Katugastota.
1926. GUNAWARDANA, DON CHARLES RAJAKARUNA, B.A. (Lond.), C.C.S., Batticaloa.
1914. GUNEWARDENE, J. J., F.N.F.A. (Lond.), 'Winville,' Wellawatta.
1907. GUNAWARDANA, PETER TUDAVE PANDITA, "Guna Nivasa," Unavatuna, Galle.
1902. GUNAWARDHANA, W. F., Gate Mudaliyar, "Rose Villa," Mount Lavinia.
1929. HALLOCK, ANANDA RAJAH, C.C.S., Kalutara South.
1908. HAMID, ASSENA MARIKAR, "Cleveland," Barnes Place, Colombo.
1927. HANCOCK, WALTER RALEGH, Tismoda Group, Kadugannawa.
1919. HARDING, GEORGE EWING, B.A. (Lond.), Government Training College, Colombo.
1925. HARE, EDWARD MILES, Galaha Co., Colombo.
1920. HARRISON, ALBERT SEDDON, M.SC. (Manch.), Principal, Training College, Colombo.
1919. HASSAN, COLENDIA MARIKAR ABDUL, 95, Main Street, Colombo.
1907. HAYLEY, FREDERICK AUSTIN, M.A., D.C.L. (Oxon.), Advocate, Cambridge Place, Colombo.
1929. HAYTER, LEOPALD ALFRED ASHBY, Mortlake House, Vauxshall Street, Colombo.
1928. HENNESSY, DOUGLAS JOHN GERARD, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Kegalla.
1920. HETTIARATCHI, DON PETER EDMUND, Registrar-General's Office, Colombo.
1921. HOCART, A. M., M.A., Archaeological Commissioner, Anuradhapura.
1926. HUNSWORTH, Mrs. E., B. I. Hotel, Fort, Colombo.
1923. HUNTER, LOUIS LUCIEN, C.C.S., Education Office, Colombo.

Year of
Election.

1921. ISMAIL, MOHAMED ALIE MOHAMED, "Gulistan,"
Dam Street, Colombo.
1929. JACKSON, The Hon. EDWARD ST. JOHN, Attorney-
General, "Rydall," Gregory's Road, Colombo.
1917. JAYARATNA, SIRIMAN DE SILVA, B.A. (Lond.), Sid-
dhartha College, Balapitiya.
1923. JAYASINHA, ALBERT E., Uluambalama Estate, Ne-
gombo.
1926. JAYASINHA, D. S., Inspector of Schools, Education
Department, Colombo.
1926. JAYASINHA, R. W. F., Notary Public, Base Line
Road, Colombo.
1926. JAYASINHA, SIRIMAN PATRICK, "Jayasinha Medura,"
Karaputugala.
1918. JAYASURIYA, EDWARD WILLIAM PERERA, Govern-
ment Dispensary, Madawachchi.
1926. JAYASURIYA, P. C. R., Water's Meet, Mutwal,
Colombo.
1899. JAYATILAKA, The Hon. DON BARON, M.A. (Oxon),
Castle Street, Colombo.
1923. JAYAWARDANA, ARTHUR PETER ABEYESINHA, Public
Works Department, Colombo.
1895. JAYAWARDANA, Dr. CHAS G., Minuwangoda.
1927. JAYAWARDANA, CHRISTOPHER P., Assistant Conser-
vator of Forests, 'Forest Bungalow,' Anuradhapura,
1908. JAYAWARDANA, EUGENE W., F.R.C.I., M.M.C., Bar-
rister-at-law and Advocate, "Park House," Park
Street, Colombo.
1929. JAYAWARDANA, JUNIUS RICHARD, "Park House,"
Park Street, Colombo.
1926. JINANANDA THERO, Rev. M. JINAVARAVANSA, "Dipa-
duttamaramaya," Kotahena, Colombo.
1917. JONES, CHARLES ERNEST, B.A., B.SC. (Lond.), C.C.S.,
Education Office, Colombo.
1920. JONES, HUGH LLOYD, "Pen-y-lan," Dolosbage.
1911. JULIUS, SYDNEY GEORGE ALEXANDER, Proctor, S.C.
and Notary, Colombo.

Year of
Election.

1919. KADIRGAMAR, SAMUEL JEBARATNAM CHRISTIAN, Proctor, S.C., Kynsey Road, Colombo.
1910. KADURUVEWA, K. B., Kachcheri Muhandiram, Kurunegala.
1929. KANNANGARA, The Hon. CHRISTOPHER WILLIAM WIJEKON, Proctor, S.C., Galle.
1916. KANNANGARA, EDWARD WILMOT, B.A. (Lond.), C.C.S., Stamp Office, Colombo.
1921. KANTAWALA, MOHAN HARIGOVINDAR, C.C.S., Point Pedro.
1923. KARALAPILLAI, TAMPIPILLAI, Gate Mudaliyar, De Saram Place, Colombo.
1928. KARUNARATNA, Rev. DON CHARLES PETER, Dickwella.
1921. KARUNARATNA, WIJEYESINGHA WILLIAM, "Wimalagiri," Nagoda, Kalutara.
1920. KEUNEMAN, ARTHUR ERIC, B.A., L.L.B. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, "Lingay," Vajira Road, Colombo.
1918. KULARATNA, PATRICK DE SILVA, B.A., B.Sc., L.L.B., Barrister-at-Law, Principal, Ananda College, Colombo.
1926. KUMARADASA, GARDIYE HEWAVASAM DHARMARATNA, Ayurvedic Physician, Ambalangoda.
1929. KUMARAJIVA, KAVIRAJ K. CHARLES DE SILVA, Ayurvedic Physician, Walahpitiya, Nattandiya.
1923. KUMARASINGHA, CYRIL, Land Settlement Office, Colombo.
1919. LE GOC, Very Rev. Father MORICE JACQUES, O.M.I., Ph.D. (Rome), M.A. (Cantab.), B.Sc. (Lond.), Rector, St. Joseph's College, Colombo.
1882. LEWIS, FREDERICK, F.L.S., Rostellan, Kandy.
1923. LIGHT, JOSEPH, B.A., C.C.S., Land Settlement Office, Colombo.
1920. MAARTENSZ, The Hon. LEWIS MATTHEW, Colombo.
1928. MACRAE, The Hon. LACHLAN, M.A., Director of Education, Colombo.

Year of
Election.

1924. MAHADEVA, The Hon. ARUNACHALAM, B.A. (Cantab.),
"Ponklar," Horton Place, Colombo.
1926. MALALASEKARA, GUNAPALA PIYASENA, M.A., PH.D.
(Lond.), University College, Colombo.
1929. MALALASEKARA, RICHARD PIERIS, Ayurvedic Physi-
cian, "Veda Gedera," Panadure.
1927. MAMUJEE, ADAMALY, "Mamujee Villa," Tenth
Lane, Bambalapitiya.
1929. MARASINGHA, CHARLES ALFRED, Ayurvedic Physician,
Walahapitiya, Nattandiya.
1921. MARRS, Prof. ROBERT, C.I.E., M.A. (Oxon.), Principal,
Ceylon University College, Colombo.
1926. MARTENSZ, PERCIVAL STEPHEN, Proctor, S.C., Staf-
ford Place, Colombo.
1929. MARTIN, WILLIAM CECIL M'KECHINE, Master Mariner,
Pilot, Colombo; Ellesmere, Bambalapitiya.
1913. MEDAGAMA, MUTU BANDA, The Kachcheri, Badulla.
1919. MENDIS, BENEDICT SOLOMON, Pool Bank Estate,
Hatton.
1926. MENDIS, GARRET CHAMPNESS, B.A. (Lond.), Govern-
ment Training College, Colombo. In Europe.
1928. MENDIS, H. ADRIS, Madampe, Ambalangoda.
1921. NAGANATHER, A., J.P., U.P.M., Gate Mudaliyar,
Nuwara Eliya.
1913. NANATILAKA NAYAKA THERO, The Very Rev. A. U.
A., Principal, Vidyabhasa Pirivena, Welitota,
Balapitiya.
1918. NANODAYA THERO, Rev. H. Sri., Saraswati Pirivena,
Balagolla, Veyangoda.
1921. NARASINGHAM, VEPA VARAHA, M.A., Main Road,
Vizagapatam, South India.
1929. NARAYANAN, NARASINHALU AYYAH, Jaffna.
1929. NATESAN, SUBBAIYA, B.A., B.L. (Madras), "College
House," Ramanathan College, Chunnakam.
1923. NATHAN, PANDIT KANDIAHPILLAI CHIDAMBARA, Proc-
tor, S.C. and Notary, Riverside Road, Ratnapura.

Year of
Election.

1887. NELL, Dr. ANDREAS, L.M.S., M.R.C.S., Queen's Hotel, Kandy.
1925. NISSANKA, Sri HERBERT, Advocate, Wellawatta.
1929. NOEL-PATON, R., c/o. Messrs. Boustead Bros., Colombo.
1912. NUGAWELA, PUNCHI BANDA, J.P., Diyawadana Nilame, Maligawa Office, Kandy.
1908. OBEYESEKERE, DONALD, M.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, Rajagiriya, Colombo.
1908. OBEYESEKERE, The Hon. FORRESTER AUGUSTUS, B.A., F.R.C.S., Barrister-at-Law, "Rotunda," Colpetty, Colombo.
1922. ORIENTAL LIBRARY, The Honorary Secretary, Kandy.
1921. PAKEMAN, SYDNEY ARNOLD, M.C., M.A. (Cantab.), University College, Colombo.
1929. PANNASIHA THERO, Rev. N.K. SRI., Payagala.
1927. PARANAVITANA, SENERAT, Archaeological Survey, Anuradhapura.
1923. PARARAJASINGHAM, SANGARAPILLAI, J.P., "Pattimalaya," Flower Road, Colombo.
1929. PASHA, SYED RAUF, Professor of Arabic, Zahira College, Colombo.
1927. PATHMANATHAN, SANGARAPILLAI, "Sukastan," Ward Place, Colombo.
1915. PAUL, Dr. SAMUEL CHELLIAH, M.D.C.M., (Madras), F.R.C.S. (Eng.), L.R.C.P. (Lond.), "Rao Mahal," Ward Place, Colombo.
1910. PEARSON, Dr. JOSEPH, D.SC. (Liver.), D.Sc. (Manch.), F.R.S. (Edin.), F.L.S. (Lond.), Director, Colombo Museum and Marine Biologist, Colombo.
1887. PEDRIS, D. C., Proctor, S.C. and Notary, Regent Street, Colombo.
1929. PEIRIS, Rev. Father EMMANUEL EDMUND, O.M.I., St. Vincent's Home, Maggona.
1914. PERERA, ARTHUR AUGUSTUS, Advocate, Kandy.
1924. PERERA, G. FRANCIS, Traffic Inspector, Traffic Department, C.G.R., Siri Sarana, Wadduwa.

Year of
Election.

1913. PERERA, JAMES ERNEST REGINALD, Proctor, S.C. and Notary, "Avondale House," Avondale Road, Colombo.
1922. PERERA, THEODORE DUNCAN, L.L.B. (Lond.), C.C.S., General Treasury, Colombo.
1920. PERERA, Rev. Father SIMON GREGORY, S.J., Galle.
1927. PERERA, S. E. ALEXANDER, "Rockside House," Galpotta Street, Kotahena, Colombo.
1922. PERIATAMBI, SUPPAR, The Secretariat, Colombo.
1921. PERIES, K. OLIVER, Merchant, Madampe, Ambalangoda.
1927. PHILLIPS, WILLIAM WATT ADDISON, Moosakanda Group, Gammaduwa.
1928. PHILLIPSON, S., C.C.S., Controller of Revenue Office, Colombo.
1929. PIERIS, (Miss) CORNELIA HILDA MIRIAM, "The Priory," Union Place, Colombo.
1929. PIERIS, HENRY ASHMORE, B.A. (Cantab.), Divisional Agricultural Officer, Gampaha.
1925. PINE, WALTER E., "Fountain House," Union Place, Colombo.
1928. PIYARATANA THERO. Rev. (Pandit) K. SRI, Sangatodaya Pirivena, Matara.
1904. PROCTOR, ROBERT CHELVADURAI, Deputy Registrar, Supreme Court, Colombo.
1926. RAJAPAKSA, LOUIS A., L.L.D., Barrister-at-Law, Magazine Road, Borella, Colombo.
1925. RAJAPAKSA, S. VICTOR A., Minuvangoda.
1889. RAJAPAKSA, TUDOR, Gate Mudaliyar, Gatherum, Colombo.
1925. RAJASINGHAM, ARASUNLAYITTHA, M.B., C.M. (Aberd.) Colpetty, Colombo.
1924. RAMACHANDRA, HALLOCK TIRUVILANGAM, Proctor, S.C. and Notary, "Svarna," Campbell Place, Colombo.
1921. RANASINGHA, ARTHUR GORDON, B.A. (Lond.), C.C.S., District Judge, Avisawella.

Year of
Election.

1917. RASANAYAGAM, C., C.C.S., Mudaliyar, The Kachcheri, Jaffna.
1927. RATNAYAKA, ABAYARATNA, B.A., Union Place, Colombo.
1928. RATWATTE, J.C., Disawe, Kandy.
1928. REDLICH, V. P., C.C.S., District Judge, Tangalle.
1921. REED, H. L., M.A., Principal, Royal College, Colombo.
1921. REIMERS, EDMUND, Government Archivist, Colombo.
1908. ROBERTS, Dr. EMMANUEL RATNAWEERA, Colpetty, Colombo.
1925. RODE, JOSEPH E., Linburn, Colpetty, Colombo.
1923. RODRIGO, JOSEPH LIONEL CHRISTIE, M.A. (Oxon.), B.A. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law, University College, Colombo.
1927. ROGERS, VICTOR SAMUEL, Barrister-at-Law, 1st Lane, Colpetty, Colombo.
1927. SABANAYAGAM, RASANAYAGAM, Kynsey Road, Colombo.
1909. SAGARASINGHAM, RATNASABAPATHI, J.P., "Sumangala," Kinross Avenue, Bambalapitiya.
1908. SAMARASINGHA, WALTER ALWIS, Atapattu Mudaliyar, The Kachcheri, Colombo.
1922. SANJIVI, T. R., M.A., PH.D., LITT.D., President, Latent Light Culture, Tinnevely.
1928. SARAVANAMUTHU, P., C.C.S., Mannar.
1907. SCHNEIDER, Sir, The Hon. GUALTERUS STEWART, Havelock Town, Colombo.
1923. SENANAYAKA, The Hon. DON STEPHEN, M.L.C., Woodlands, Kanatta Road, Colombo.
1928. SENEVIRATNA-GOREA, Rev. HECTOR VERNON IVAN, The Vicarage, Borella.

Year of
Election.

1929. SENEVIRATNA, DIONYSIUS BARTHOLOMEUS, C.C.S.,
Ratnapura.
1919. SENEVIRATNA, FRANCIS T., Kalutara.
1913. SIRINIVASATISSA THERO, M.D., Demanhandiya,
Negombo.
1927. SIDDHARTHA, Rev. RAMBUKWELLA, M.A. (Cal.),
University College, Colombo.
1925. SILVA, B. L. SARANELIS, Ayurvedic Physician,
Temple Lane, Maradana.
1916. SMITH, LEIGH, M.A. (Durham), University College,
Colombo.
1928. SOMASUNTERAM, K., C.C.S., The Secretariat, Col-
ombo.
1919. SPITTEL, R. L., F.R.C.S., L.M.S. (Ceylon), "Wycher-
ley," Buller's Road, Colombo.
1923. SRI PATHMANATHAN, RATNASABAPATHY, M.A. (Oxon.),
Barrister-at-Law, "Kanta Nivasa," Alexander
Road, Colombo.
1926. SUGATHAPALA, S. A. M., Braybrooke Place, Colombo.
1928. SUGATHAPALA, T., City Pharmacy, Borella.
1921. SUNTHERALINGAM, Prof. CHELLAPPAH, B.A. (Oxon),
B.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law, Ceylon University
College, Colombo.
1923. SUPPRAMANIAM, CATHERAVELUPILLAI, Royal College,
Colombo.
1886. TARRANT, HERBERT, Merchant, Colombo.
1927. TILAKARATNA, K. S., Nalanda College, Colombo.
1906. TISSAVARASINGHA, FRANCIS ALEXANDER, Advocate,
Campbell Place, Colombo.
1925. TOUSSAINT, JAMES REGINALD, C.C.S., Stamp Office,
Colombo.
1917. TURNER, LEWIS JAMES BURNESTON, M.A., C.C.S.,
Statistics Office, Colombo.

Year of
Election.

1923. TYAGARAJA, JAGANATHAN, M.A., L.L.B., Barrister-at-Law, Ward Place, Colombo.
1920. UMAGILIYA, DON SIMON, Muhandiram, Deputy Coroner, "The Walawwa," Hatton.
1929. UNAMBOOWE, CLEMENT LEO, Superintendent of Minor Roads, Dandagamuva.
1923. VAITHIANATHAN, KANDIAH, C.C.S., Ratnapura.
1925. VANDER WALL, E. H., Brownrigg Road, Colombo.
1928. VIJAYANANDA THERO, Rev. W. Sri, Saugata Vidayalaya, Panadure.
1927. WAIDYASURYA, M. SUGATADASA, Ayurvedic Physician, Singapore.
1908. WAIT, The Hon. WALTER ERNEST, M.A., C.C.S., Colombo.
1929. WANASUNDARA, D., Kachcheri Mudaliyar, Ratnapura.
1913. WEERASINGHA, DON DISANERIS, Mudaliyar, High Street, Wellawatta.
1924. WEINMAN, Captain AUBREY N., Secretary and Librarian, Colombo Museum, Honorary Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, C.B., "Green View," Greenlands Road, Colombo.
1927. WICKRAMARATNA, CHARLES, 19B, Lockgate Lane, Skinners Road South, Maradana.
1927. WICKRAMARATNA, NORBUT, Mudaliyar, Agricultural Department, Peradeniya.
1928. WICKRAMASINGHA, C. L., C.C.S., Assistant Government Agent, Kalutara.
1911. WIJAYAKOON, The Hon. ABRAHAM CHARLES GERARD, M.L.C., Barrister-at-Law, Colombo.
1911. WIJAYANAYAKA, C. DE S. A., Municipal Veterinary Inspector, The Municipality, Colombo.

Year of
Election.

1915. WIJAYARATNA, CLEMENT P., J.P., U.P.M., Proctor,
S.C., Kalutara.
1926. WIJAYASEKARA, COLLIN A., 72/18, Base Line Road,
Dematagoda, Colombo.
1917. WIJAYATUNGA, RICHARD ALOYSIUS, Government
Surveyor, Badulla.
1913. WIJAYAWARDANA, DON RICHARD, B.A. (Cantab.),
Barrister-at-Law, De Saram Place, Colombo.
1928. WIJEMANNA, D. S., Horana.
1929. WIJESURIYA, WIJESURIYA ARATCHIGE DON ALBERT,
Ayurvedic Physician, Aruggoda, Panadure.
1924. WIJEYESINHA, K. W. DE A., Interpreter Mudaliyar,
The Courts, Balapitiya.
1913. WINTER, ALFRED WILLIAM, Pillagoda Valley, Badde-
gama.
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